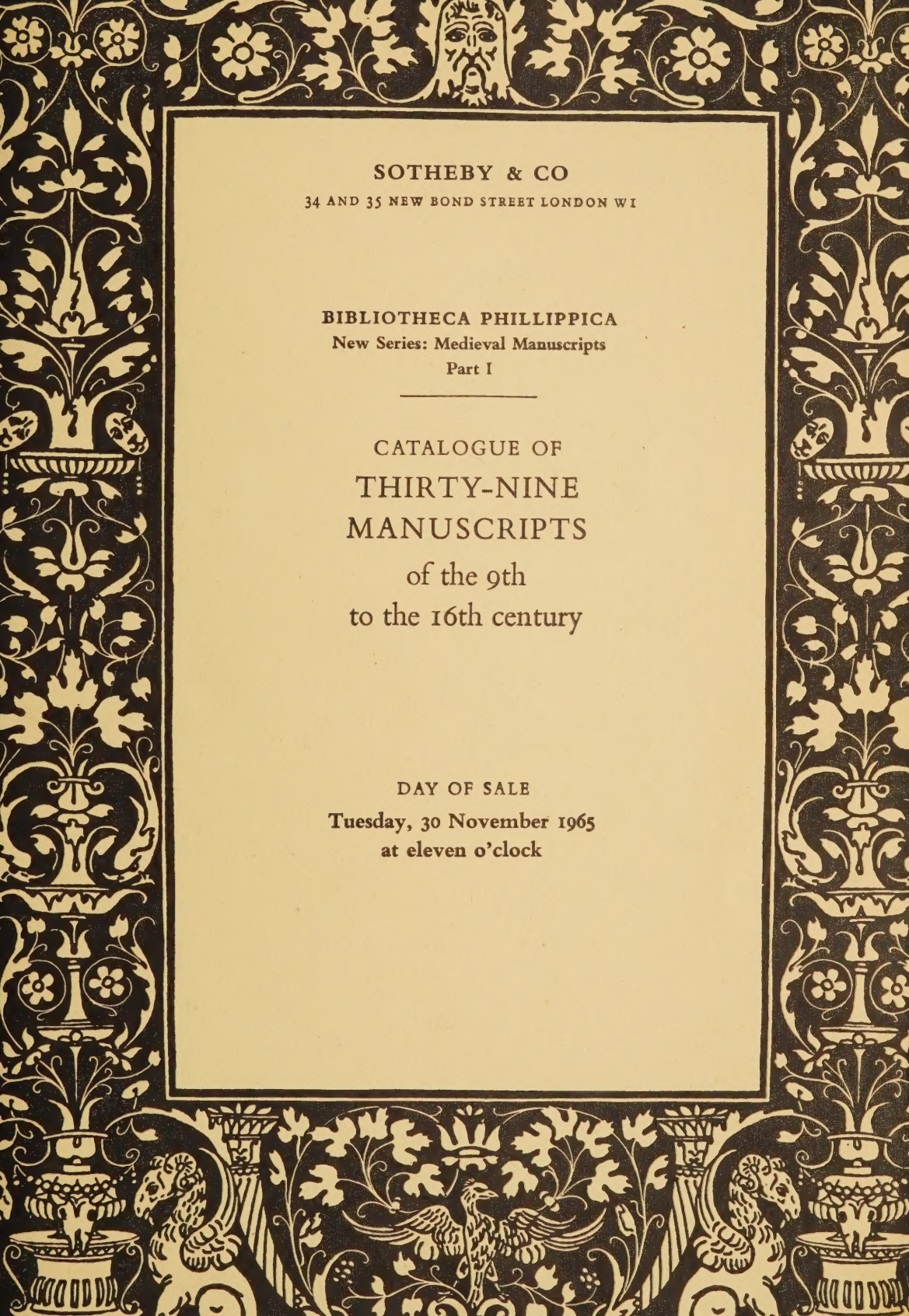




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Part I

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THIRTY-NINE
MANUSCRIPTS

of the 9th
to the 16th century

DAY OF SALE

Tuesday, 30 November 1965
at eleven o'clock

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Medieval Manuscripts: New Series: First Part



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Medieval Manuscripts: New Series: First Part

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of the 9th to the 16th century

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FOREWORD

This sale, with its preponderance of early and literary manuscripts, is a microcosm or foretaste of the remaining portion of the Phillipps collection. When was the last sale held in which ten per cent of the manuscripts were earlier than the twelfth century? This proportion reflects a period, more than a century ago, before the many early manuscripts which had been shaken out of their monastic homes by the Napoleonic upheaval had found new institutional owners. Here is a ninth-century *Bede* from Lyons (lot 1), a tenth-century *Statius*, textually probably the best of its family, which belonged to the humanist collector Cardinal Capranica (lot 2), a *Saint Maximus* from Nonantola with fine initials (lot 3) and a *Saint Jerome* of great elegance from the famous Abbey of St Matthias at Trier (lot 4).

The next striking feature of the sale is the wealth of French romances. Two are of the 13th century: *Garin le Loherain*, in an interesting stamped binding (lot 11), and the 'Lancelot in prose' from the MacCarthy library (lot 12); *Les vœux du paon* is finely illustrated with thirteen miniatures (lot 15); but the rarest texts are those of two paper manuscripts, Jean Dupin's *Roman de Mandevie* (lot 26) and Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames*, which belonged to the Chevalier d'Eon – surely the most appropriate title in the library of that ambiguous personage (lot 28). Still more important in French literature is the unpublished collection of poems of Charles d'Orléans and his circle, written probably at Blois between 1453 and 1456 for Jean d'Estouteville, seigneur de Torcy (lot 31); as a source for the poetry of the Court of Blois it seems to be second only to the celebrated manuscript partly in Charles d'Orléans's hand in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Among the other manuscripts of textual value, which include a thirteenth-century *Ovid* (lot 13) and an *Anticlaudianus* of about the year 1200 (lot 7), two are unpublished and apparently known only by these unique manuscripts: a diagrammatic synopsis of philosophy by a thirteenth-century monk of Kempen in the Rhineland (lot 10); and a treatise on music, dated 1375, by a Parisian music-master, with two unrecorded French songs (lot 19). Honoré Bonet's *L'Arbre de Bataille*, an early and abortive attempt to introduce a code of warfare, must also be mentioned (lot 27).

Four manuscripts are English. William de Wycumb's *Life of Robert de Bethune* was probably written in the Gloucester house where the monks of Llanthony took refuge from Welsh disorder (lot 9). An historical miscellany comes from the great Abbey of Bury St Edmund's and is in its original monastic binding (lot 16). Thorne's *Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey*, the manuscript used for his edition by the seventeenth-century antiquary Sir Roger Twysden, may have been consulted at Canterbury 150 years earlier by Leland

(lot 24); and an interesting medical collection, derived from the Schools of Salerno and Montpellier, belonged in the early 16th century to Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich (lot 21).

In the later Middle Ages Italy was the most prolific centre of book production and its booksellers were patronised by many clients from beyond the Alps. Here are vernacular manuscripts of Domenico Cavalca (lot 20), Petrarch (lot 22) and Boccaccio's *Life of Dante* (lot 32); the only Venetian textual *Portolano* recorded outside Italian public libraries (lot 36); and humanistic manuscripts of Aristotle's *Ethics*, written for an unidentified member of the Sforza court at Milan (lot 29), *Cicero*, written for – but apparently never received by – Cardinal Condulmarus (lot 30) and *Thucydides*, from the convent of San Marco in Florence (lot 34), as well as the dedication manuscript to the Signoria of Bologna of an unrecorded treatise by Gasparo Zacchi, Bishop of Osimo (lot 35).

From other countries come a handsomely written fourteenth-century Hebrew manuscript (lot 18), the *Ordinaciones* of King Peter IV of Aragon, probably written in Barcelona and with Italo-Catalan illumination, later in the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia (lot 23), and the Codex Scardensis, the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Icelandic, believed to be the only Icelandic manuscript in private ownership (lot 17).

Although the emphasis of the Phillipps Collection is on rare texts, illumination is not neglected. The Greek Gospels (lot 8), with its two superb series of miniatures, has recently been described by a distinguished expert as 'one of the most beautiful thirteenth-century Byzantine illuminated manuscripts so far brought to light'. The French *Livy* has eight miniatures by the Maître de Boucicaut in sparkling condition (lot 25). There is a Gospel Lectionary with excellent Bolognese illumination of the 13th century (lot 14), Wavrin's *Chroniques d'Angleterre* with miniatures by a follower of Loyset Liédet (lot 33) and an attractive Rouen *Horaes* executed for a member of the du Hamel family (lot 38).

The sale, which begins in the age of Charlemagne's successors, ends in that of Shakespeare with the Album Amicorum of the Duke of Württemberg mentioned in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as 'cosen garmombles' (lot 39).

October 1965

SOTHEBY & CO

CATALOGUE OF
THIRTY-NINE MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE 9TH TO THE 16TH CENTURY

Day of Sale: Tuesday 30 November 1965
at eleven o'clock

I THE VENERABLE BEDE. COMMENTARY ON THE
GOSPEL OF ST. MARK

[LYONS, FIRST HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 131 ll. (of 140, wanting the whole of the second gathering and the sixth leaf of the eighth gathering). Gatherings of 8 leaves, with original signatures in the centre of the lower margin (iii and iv altered to ii and iii to conceal the loss of the second gathering). 31 lines. 260 × 170 mm.; 10¼ × 7 in. The commentary written in dark brown ink in a good Carolingian minuscule with a number of pre-Carolingian forms. The text of the Gospel, in passages varying in length from one to six lines (in all at least two-thirds of the whole gospel), written in red ink in ornamental uncials (much faded and a few passages somewhat roughly restored at an early date). Many natural flaws in the vellum (holes, corners missing, etc.); two lower margins cut away and one cut into; part of a few lines of three leaves missing; a few leaves frayed and many stained; wormholes in the first and last few leaves. French 19th century green morocco, panelled in gilt, gilt spine.

PROVENANCE

(1) Guglielmo Libri; lot 139 of the 'splendid manuscripts' from his collection sold in these rooms on 28 March 1859, illustrated on Pl. V of the catalogue; bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps for £124.

(2) Phillipps MS. 16249.

TEXT

This is one of the earliest MSS. of Bede's *Commentary on Mark*, but in the absence of a critical edition of the text it is impossible to say whether or not it is the earliest to survive. It has been ascribed to as early as the 8th century (Zangemeister) and to as late as the 10th (Laistner). A date early in the 9th century is supported by Dr. B. Bischoff. The Phillipps Library formerly contained another ninth-century manuscript of Bede's *Commentary on Mark*

(Phillipps MS. 1661, now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS. 47). No manuscript of the Commentary on Mark is recorded in the U.S.A. in De Ricci's Census. All other manuscripts of the 9th century or earlier are in public libraries on the continent of Europe.

The recto of the first leaf was originally blank but is now covered with miscellaneous scribbles, some of very early date. The prologue or 'letter to Acca' occupies ff. 1b and 2 and is headed (in large red and brown capitals), *In Xpi nomine incipit prologus bedani presbiteri in libro commentariorum super marcum*. Then follow (ff. 2b-4) the titles of the forty-six chapters of the commentary, which is not here divided into four books as in many manuscripts and in the printed editions. The commentary itself begins (*Conferendum hoc evangelium marci principium principio mathei...*) on f. 4 and ends on f. 131b with the explicit, *... expositionis in evangelium marci ... beda famuli xpi et pbri ...* Each section of commentary is preceded by a passage from the Gospel. The letters H and R (and sometimes others) occur at irregular intervals in the margins, possibly in the original hand.

In the margins of f. 127b are two couplets in a small note hand of the 11th(?) century. The couplet in the upper margin, beginning *Quam felix somnus celesti luce choruscus*, has musical notation.

In the Libri catalogue the manuscript was described as being from the celebrated Abbey of Luxeuil. There seems to be no evidence for this suggestion and Dr. B. Bischoff has kindly informed us that in his opinion it was written in Lyons.

LITERATURE

K. Zangemeister. *Bericht über den Bibliotheken Englands*, in *Sitzungsberichte der K.K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna 1876, lxxxiv, p. 582.

M. W. Laistner. *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts*, Cornell University Press, 1947, p. 51.

[SEE PLATE 1]

2 PUBLIUS PAPINIUS STATIUS. THEBAIS

[ITALY, IOTH CENTURY]

On vellum. 124 ll. (the first ten and the last two ll. additions of the 15th century, replacing lost leaves; the last leaf originally blank). Gatherings of 8 or 10 leaves. 40 or 41 lines. 277 × 175 mm.; 11 × 6½ in. Written in brown ink by more than one scribe using very similar small and slightly slanting hands of a Carolingian type, often with a long r descending below the line. The first ten leaves and last leaf of the text written by an Italian fifteenth-century scribe in a good imitation of the earlier hand. Some leaves of the earlier portion stained and creased, a few margins defective (some repaired). All leaves trimmed when the manuscript was rebound in the 19th century, but the outer margins still wide. Nineteenth-century brown russia, panelled in blind, gilt lettering on spine and inner borders, marbled endpapers, g.e.

PROVENANCE

(1) Cardinal Domenico Capranica (1400–1458), friend and collaborator of the humanist Pope Nicholas V and himself a notable collector of manuscripts (he is said to have owned no less than 2,000). In the last year of his life he founded the Almo Collegio Capranica for the education of poor boys and bequeathed to it his collection of manuscripts and his family palace in Rome. A manuscript catalogue of the library drawn up in 1480 (Vatican Library cod. lat. 8184) lists 387 manuscripts, including Statius and many other classical authors. The cardinal's name can be read under ultra-violet light in the erased inscriptions at the beginning and end of the text (*Dñi de Crapanica* on f. 1; *Liber reven^{mi} dñi dñi D. de Crapanica Cardinalis prestantissimi* on f. 123b). Both these inscriptions are probably in the hand of the scribe who replaced the missing leaves of the text. On f. 123b he gives also his own name *Nicolaus Fulginas* [i.e. of Foligno] *doc. artium/ Ciarpellone vulgariter nuncupatus* and what appears to be a date (illegible). Cardinal Capranica was in Florence at the time of the Council (1439–1443) and is said to have bought many of his manuscripts there. It was very probably in Florence at about this time that the missing portions of the manuscript were made good.

(2) On the blank page facing the end of the text are the names of two librarians, Julius Caesar Valencinus (whose death in 1652 is noted) and Michael Angelus Zaccaria, no doubt officers of the Collegio Capranica in Rome. The latter was perhaps a relation of Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, author of *Iter litterarium per Italiam*, 1762.

(3) Guglielmo Libri; lot 515 in the 'reserved portion' of his library, sold in these rooms 28 July 1862; bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps for £155.

(4) Phillipps MS. 16409.

TEXT

The *Thebaid* is an epic in hexameters in twelve books about 'The deadly strife

of the Theban brothers' by the first-century poet and favourite of the Emperor Domitian, Publius Papinius Statius. It enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages and the author appears in Dante's *Purgatorio*.

Only nine manuscripts of the poem of a date earlier than the 12th century are recorded; one at St. John's College, Cambridge, the others in public libraries in Europe. Of these manuscripts one (the ninth-century Codex Puteanus in Paris) is the earliest and best. The remainder form a single family, of which, according to H. W. Garrod, the Phillipps manuscript (known as N) is probably the best ('fere nulli suae familiae libro cedere arbitror'). No manuscript of this family is earlier than the 10th century.

The text of the present manuscript has a number of glosses, both inter-linear and marginal. These are particularly numerous in the fourth book. Each book is preceded by a synopsis in twelve hexameter lines (not printed by the editors of Statius). An interesting feature is that on three pages (ff. 46b, 80 and 81) neums indicating a musical chant have been written above the words of three dramatic speeches of characters in the poem, introduced respectively by the phrases 'gemitusque in verba soluti', 'clamat' and 'lacrimas cum voce profundit', (V 608-616, VIII 736-745 and IX 49-52). These rudimentary operatic arias from the Dark Ages are not absolutely unknown but are extremely rare (see T. Gerold, *Histoire de la Musique*, 1936, p. 258).

With the Cockerell *Boethius* of the 10th century (sold in our rooms 3 April 1957, lot 1) and the Phillipps *Josephus* of the 8th century (Messrs. W. H. Robinson Catalogue 83, 1953), this is one of the few outstanding Dark Age manuscripts of a classical author remaining in private ownership.

DECORATION

Six books have large decorative initials (ff. 39, 48b, 60, 70b, 93 and 103b) contemporary with the writing of the text, in brown ink with a very little red, with interlaced and foliate ornament and (f. 48b) a monster. The spaces for the initials of four other books were left blank; one was filled later with a large unadorned A, the others were decorated with pen-and-ink scrollwork by the fifteenth-century scribe, who used the same decoration at the beginning of Books I and II.

LITERATURE

Guglielmo Libri. *Monuments inédits*, 1862, pl. xxxix.

H. W. Garrod, editor. *Stati Thebais et Achilleis*, Oxford University Press, 1906. Cf. M. Morpurgo Castelnovo. *La biblioteca Capranica in Archivio della Società di Storia Patria*, LII, 1929, pp. 117-127.

[SEE PLATE 2]

3 ST. MAXIMUS OF TURIN. SERMONS; ST. AMBROSE.
TREATISES

[NORTH ITALY, ABBEY OF NONANTOLA, 11TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 294 ll. Two works bound together, from the same scriptorium and of about the same date. Gatherings of 8 leaves, with catchwords (mostly cut away) and two separate series of signatures. The fifth gathering of the second work wanting (after f. 210), otherwise both works complete (the lower half of the last leaf cut away). 26 and 30 lines. 290 × 185 mm.; 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The first work written in brown ink in a very fine and large hand of Carolingian type, the second in a similar but smaller hand. Headings in red in large minuscules. Fine vellum, with only a few natural flaws. Wide margins, with pinholes visible in the outer margins, and on the whole in remarkably clean and fresh condition. Roan, gilt spine, by Bretherton, 1848.

PROVENANCE

(1) Written in the Benedictine Abbey of Nonantola, in the diocese of Modena, founded in 735 by Anselm, Duke of Friuli. The MS. can be identified in the inventories of the Abbey library compiled in 1331, 1464 and 1464–90.

(2) Removed in 1660–63 with all the other MSS. remaining at Nonantola to the Biblioteca Sessoriana of the Cistercian church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome; an inventory of the manuscripts was drawn up by Father Ferrari in 1664, in which this is no. 61.

(3) Disappeared with thirty-four other MSS. from the Biblioteca Sessoriana between 1798 and 1818.

(4) These Nonantola MSS. next appear in the stock of the Roman bookseller Giambattista Petrucci, from whom Payne and Foss bought this one and others for Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1848.

(5) Phillipps MS. 12267.

TEXT

The first three leaves form a separate gathering and contain (in various small hands of the 11th and 12th century):

(i) *Folios 1–2b*. Formulas for exorcism, beginning *Exorcizo te hostis humani generis*. (ii) *Folio 2b*. Copies of two letters from Pope A[lexander III, 1159–1181], to the Abbot and monastery of San Benedetto Po (Polirone) and Bishop A[lberius, 1139–1164, or Albericus, 1164–1187] of Reggio, concerning a dispute between the monasteries of San Benedetto Po and Nonantola about the ‘curtis’ (? hamlet) of St. Cesarius. (iii) *Folio 3b*. Table of contents of the first work, *Incipiunt capitula libri sermonum s[an]c[t]i Ambrosii*. A contemporary hand

has added above *al. Maximi*. The titles of the first 46 sermons only are given. *Folio 5*. A collection of 108 sermons of St. Maximus of Turin (d. 470), preceded by a brief preface beginning *Libenter nos predicare*. The original scribe gave the author's name as St. Ambrose both in the title and in the laudatory verses on the blank page which precedes it (f. 4b); in both places the name was corrected at an early date to Maximus.

The text is written with great care, with insertions and variant readings in the margin. The original scribe left several gaps in the text, presumably from inability to read or understand his archetype. Some of these were filled in soon after the manuscript was written, others remain empty. On the last page of the sermons is a *hymnus ad manus impositionem super infirmum*, beginning *Christe celestis medicina patris*.

A critical edition of the sermons of St. Maximus has recently been edited by Dr. Almut Mutzenbecher. The present manuscript appears to be the sixth oldest known manuscript of the sermons, those older being all in public libraries on the Continent. The oldest, now in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome, was, like the present manuscript, written at Nonantola and was later in the Biblioteca Sessoriana; it too shows doubt as to whether the sermons are to be attributed to Maximus or Ambrose. The present manuscript is only briefly referred to in Dr. Mutzenbecher's introduction (p. xlviii, note 4), but a detailed description is given (pp. xlviii-l) of a manuscript copy of the first half made from it in the 18th century (now in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele). Dr. Mutzenbecher has commented on the importance of this MS. (whose location he learned too late to use it in his edition), owing to the weak manuscript basis of part of the text.

Folio 179. St. Ambrose. Treatises comprising (i) *De mysteriis* or *De initiandis* (Migne, xvi, 389). (ii) *Folio 186*. *De sacramentis*, in six books (Migne, xvi, 417). (iii) *Folio 202*. *De officiis*, in three books (8 leaves of the first book are wanting) (Migne, xvi, 25). (iv) *Folio 261b*. *De fuga seculi* (Migne, xiv, 569). (v) *Folio 273*. *De paradiso* (Migne, xiv, 275). On the last page a 12th-century hand has added some injunctions of Pope Alexander III about the celebration of Mass and some others of SS. Augustine and Jerome about food.

DECORATION

The manuscript is handsomely decorated with 122 initials (110 in the first part and 12 in the second part). They are in red with blue, green and yellow infilling and are elaborately interlaced with foliate terminals. They vary in height from 25 mm. to 50 mm. Nonantola was one of the few centres of illumination north of the Apennines at this period; manuscripts of the 12th and 13th century from the Abbey are reproduced by Salmi.

LITERATURE

Giuseppe Gullotta. *Gli antichi cataloghi e i codici della Abbazia di Nonantola, Studi e Testi* 182, Città del Vaticano 1955.

José Ruyschaert. *Les Manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Nonantola, Studi e Testi* 182 bis, Città del Vaticano 1955.

Sermones S. Maximi, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, *Corpus Christianorum*, series latina, vol. 23, Turnhout 1962.

H. Schenkl. *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, Vienna 1892, I, ii, item 1891.

C. T. G. Schoenemann. *Bibliotheca historica litteraria patrum latinorum*, ii, 1794, p. 651.

Cf. Mario Salmi. *L'Enluminure Italienne*, 1954, pl. V and fig. 13.

[SEE PLATE 3]

4 SAINT JEROME. HEBREW QUESTIONS, AND OTHER WORKS
BY SS. JEROME AND ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

[TRIER, ABBEY OF ST. MATTHIAS, SECOND HALF OF THE 11TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 92 ll. (including the last leaf which is pasted onto the inside of the lower cover). Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves (the last and one other of 6). Double column. 38 lines. 250 × 170 mm.; 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink by one scribe in a distinguished slightly slanting post-Carolingian hand. Headings in red. A table of contents added in the 15th century on f. 1 on a leaf originally blank corresponds to the existing contents. A few natural flaws in the vellum and a few stains, but on the whole in very fine condition and with wide margins (pinholes visible in outer, upper and lower margins).

PROVENANCE

(1) Written in the great Benedictine monastery of St. Matthias at Trier, originally dedicated to SS. Eucharis and John the Evangelist. First built as a collegiate church in the 5th century in what was then the capital of the whole 'diocese' of Gaul and the greatest city north of the Alps, the church of St. Eucharis was re-founded as a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Matthias in the year 977, in the archiepiscopate of Egbert of Trier, the greatest patron of learning and the arts in the Germany of his day.

(2) After a period of decay the reform of the monastery was undertaken by the energetic and scholarly Abbot Johannes Rode (d. 1439), a former Carthusian monk. It was perhaps in his day that the present manuscript was bound, supplied with a table of contents and an inscription of ownership (f. 1), partly visible under ultra-violet light, *Codex monasterii s̄ci mathie apli S̄corum Eucharis primi treverorum archiepi et . . . si quis abstulit anathe sit . . .* It appears with the number A 13 in the manuscript catalogue of the Abbey Library transcribed c. 1550–1575 by Martin Gorrens from a catalogue of c. 1530 (printed by J. Montebaur).

(3) The Abbey was secularised in 1802 and the manuscript was subsequently acquired, with many others from secularised monasteries in the Rhineland, by Dr. Leander van Ess of Darmstadt (1772–1847). No. 13 in van Ess's catalogue, *Sammlung und Verzeichniss handschriftlicher Bücher*, Darmstadt 1823 (though the van Ess label on the spine bears the number 5).

(4) Acquired with the remainder of van Ess's manuscripts for £320 by Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1823.

(5) Phillipps MS. 391.

CONTENTS

Folio 1b. St. Jerome. Hebrew Questions (Migne, xxiii, 935, etc.), with the title *Sofronii Eusebii Ieronimi in libris Hebraicarum questionum incipit prologus ante se*

inauditis tam grece quam latinis. The title is followed by the prologue (f. 1b) and the questions on Genesis (f. 2), *explanatio temptationum* (i.e. questions on Exodus, f. 18b), Judges (f. 19b), Kings I, II, III (ff. 21b, 26b, 32b), *Dabreiamin* (Chronicles I and II, ff. 33b, 40), Habakkuk (f. 44b), and *de ieiuniis disputatio* (f. 45). Folio 46 is blank.

Folio 46b. *Cronica Succincte scripta de regno Hebreorum*, beginning *Quadragesimo tercio anni nini regis*.

Folio 47. *Incipit liber proemiorum de librorum novi ac veteris testamenti plenitudine quam in canone catholica recipit ecclesia iuxta vetustum priorum traditionem*, i.e. a list of the canonical books, with brief comments, beginning *In principio videlicet v. libri moysi*. This is followed immediately by a short note about the Hebrew alphabet, with an attempt to reproduce it.

Folio 52. St. Jerome's Interpretation of Hebrew Names (Migne, xxiii, 771), an alphabetical dictionary of the Hebrew names in the Old and New Testaments, arranged separately by books.

Folio 74. St. Isidore of Seville. *Ortus vita vel obitus sanctorum patrum qui in scripturarum laudibus efferuntur*, the treatise usually known (and so described in the table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript) as *Isidorus de ortu et obitu sanctorum* (Migne, lxxxiii, 129), consisting of brief biographies of eighty-one saints from Adam to Titus.

Folio 81. St. Isidore. *Epistola ad Orosium* and *Defloratio eiusdem in nominatissimis nominibus legis et evangeliorum ad eundem*, i.e. the treatise of Isidore usually known as *Allegoriae Sacrae Scripturae* (Migne, lxxxiii, 97), with the brief prefatory letter.

Folio 87b. Four brief texts from the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, the apocryphal Biblical anecdotes incorrectly attributed to Philo Judaeus, entitled 'Oratio Moysi in die obitus sui', 'Visio Zenez patris Gothonieli', 'Threnus Seilae Iephthitidis in Monte Stelaceo' and 'Citharismus Regis David contra demonium Saulis'. The *Liber Antiquitatum*, a Latin translation from a lost Greek translation of a lost Hebrew text of the first century A.D. which contains many otherwise unknown Biblical legends, was first printed in Basel in 1527 (*Philonis Iudaei Alexandrini libri antiquitatum*), but received little attention from scholars until the late 19th century. In 1893 M. R. James discovered the fragments in the present manuscript and published them as unknown texts. Their origin was first recognised by Leopold Cohn and in 1917 James published a translation of the whole work. A critical edition of the Latin text, with a description of the twenty known manuscripts (only sixteen of which are complete), may be found in G. Kisch. All the manuscripts are of German or Austrian origin and none is earlier than the 11th century. According to M. R. James the text 'was preserved in a single imperfect copy written in uncials . . . which had survived

at some centre of ancient culture in the Rhenish district, most likely in or near Trèves'. In addition to the present manuscript, Sir Thomas Phillipps bought from Dr. van Ess a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Liber Antiquitatum* of Trier origin (Phillipps MS. 461). The two fragments in Trier Stadtbibliothek MS. 117 were apparently copied from the present manuscript in the 15th century. Trier MS. 117, which comes from the monastery of Santa Maria ad Martyres at Trier, contains also copies of the five tracts which occupy ff. 46b to 87 of the present manuscript.

Folio 88b. Explanations of ancient weights and measures, *De ponderibus*, *De liquidis mensuris* and *De agrestibus mensuris*.

Folio 89. The last four leaves contain additions in several twelfth-century hands, including *Sermo de Iuda qui osculo tradidit dominum*, beginning *Iuda osculo filium hominis tradis*, and a letter of Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153) summoning the faithful of France to the [Second] Crusade.

DECORATION

The manuscript has eight handsome decorated initials in red (some with yellow infilling), with interlaced and foliate ornament. The largest, 105 mm. tall – about half the height of the page – is on f. 52; the others vary between 60 mm. and 30 mm. tall (ff. 1b, 2, 18b, 21b, 26b, 44b and 74b). There are several other large initials in red. Both writing and decoration of the manuscript are of outstanding elegance.

BINDING

Fifteenth-century binding of light brown doeskin over wooden boards, decorated in blind with a diaper of triple lines within a double frame; two clasps and catches lacking, some stains and rubbing, but in very sound unrestored condition. The last leaf (f. 92) is pasted onto the lower cover; the pastedown of the upper cover is a vellum leaf from a twelfth-century Antiphonal.

LITERATURE

J. Montebaur. *Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek der Abtei St. Eucharius-Matthias zu Trier*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 26 Supplementheft, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1931.

H. Schenkl. *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, Vienna 1892, I, ii, item 1002.

M. R. James. *Apocrypha Anecdota* in *Texts and Studies*, II, no. 3, Cambridge 1893.

M. R. James. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, 1917.

Leopold Cohn. *An Apocryphal Work ascribed to Philo of Alexandria*, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, x, 1898, pp. 277-332.

G. Kisch. *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, in *Mediaeval Studies*, Notre Dame, Indiana, x, 1949.

[SEE PLATE 4]

5 SAINT PATERIUS. LIBER DE EXPOSITIONE VETERIS
ET NOVI TESTAMENTI

[SOUTH GERMANY, MONASTERY OF REBDORF (?), THIRD QUARTER OF THE 12TH
CENTURY]

On vellum. 180 ll. (the existing foliation is incorrect), plus a vellum fly-leaf. Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves (the ninth and tenth of 6), with a few signatures. Double column. 43 or 44 lines. 340 × 242 mm.; 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Handsomely written in brown ink by a number of scribes using a variety of post-Carolingian hands. Headings in red. Initials in red, mostly plain but occasionally with a little ornament. On the first and last few leaves some initials and headings have been touched with silver which has now oxydised. With wide margins, showing the pinholes, and in very sound original condition. Fifteenth-century binding of smooth undecorated pigskin over wooden boards, five small metal bosses on each cover, metal corner-pieces, lacking two clasps and catches; manuscript title label, *Paterius in Bibliam*, on the upper cover. The binding wormed but only a few wormholes extend to the last two leaves of the MS.

PROVENANCE

(1) From the library of a South German monastic house, probably the Monastery of Augustinian Canons Regular at Rebdorf, near Eichstätt in Bavaria. Although it cannot be traced in the library catalogue published by P. Ruf, Rebdorf seems to have been the source from which Chardin acquired a large group of analogous manuscripts. ('Beaucoup de manuscrits de Rebdorf ont figuré sur les catalogues du libraire Chardin; sir Thomas Phillipps en a recueilli un assez grand nombre.' Delisle).

The Monastery of St. John at Rebdorf was founded in 1156 and this manuscript may have been written there not long afterwards. It was reformed according to the Windesheim rule in 1458 and enjoyed a period of great intellectual brilliance under Prior Kilian Leib in the first half of the 16th century. It was secularised in 1803, when its extensive library was dispersed.

(2) August Chardin, the Parisian bookseller, revolutionary and *vellumane* (his portrait is given by Dibdin, *Tour in France and Germany*, 1821, II, p. 400). No. 2 in his *Catalogue de livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés*, 1811. Bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps about 1824.

(3) Phillipps MS. 2829.

TEXT

The work is preceded by the usual prologue (f. 1, 'Prologus Patherii'), beginning 'Dum beatissimi atque apostolici gregorii pontificis . . .' Then follow (f. 1b) the 'capitula' for Genesis, i.e. the first words of the 76 passages from this book upon which comments are provided, and the comments themselves, each preceded by a reference to the work of Pope Gregory the Great from which

it is derived. The greater number are from the *Moralia* on Job, the remainder mostly from the Homilies on the Gospels and on Ezechiel and from the Pastoral Rule. The commentary proceeds through all the books of the Old and New Testaments in this way, the New Testament Books being arranged as follows: Apocalypse (f. 136), Acts (f. 139b), non-Pauline Epistles (f. 142), Pauline Epistles (f. 143) and Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, omitting Mark (f. 160b).

The importance of St. Paterius derives from his association with his contemporary and friend, Pope Gregory the Great, 'the last of the great Latin fathers and the first representative of medieval Catholicism'. He is said to have been Bishop of Brescia and to have died in 606, but both statements are doubtful and nothing is known in detail of his life. His commentary on the Bible (the work here present) consists of three parts, the first two relating to the Old Testament, the third to the New. The first part was printed in 1553; the other two were published for the first time in the Maurist edition of Gregory the Great's *Opera omnia*, Paris 1705. The Maurist editors used manuscripts in the Vatican and the Abbey libraries of St. Pierre at Beauvais, Clairvaux, le Bec-Hellouin and Mont-St.-Michel. These manuscripts (all of the 12th or 13th century, according to the Maurist editors) appear to belong to a single family, perhaps derived from a lost Carolingian exemplar then in France. The present manuscript may belong to a different family since the text differs substantially from the Psalms onwards from that printed by Migne (which follows that of the Maurist editors, whose preface he reproduces without comment or alteration), being in some books more extensive, in others less.

There appears to be no modern critical comparison of surviving manuscripts, which are in any event extremely rare outside Continental public libraries; there is none, for example, in the Bodleian Library or in the U.S.A., according to De Ricci's *Census*. This is an early and handsomely written manuscript, in a medieval binding and in very sound original condition, of a scarce text.

LITERATURE

Gregorius Magnus. *Opera omnia*, Paris 1705, IV, ii.

Migne. *Patrologia Latina*, lxxix.

Léopold Delisle. *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, 1874, II, p. 397.

[SEE PLATE 5]

6 STATUTES OF THE CISTERCIAN ORDER

[NORTHERN FRANCE, ABBEY OF FONTAINE JEAN(?), C. 1190]

On vellum. 127 ll. Gatherings of 8 leaves, with signatures. Misbound (the old foliation in brown ink is correct): the leaves now numbered 1 to 15 should follow immediately after f. 127; ff. 16 to 20 are the last five leaves (in the wrong order) of the original first gathering; the three first leaves of this gathering are missing and at least one leaf at the end of the manuscript; the leaves of the original sixth and seventh gatherings (ff. 53–68) are confused. 29 lines. 292 × 208 mm.; 11½ × 8⅓ in. Written in brown ink in a handsome large early gothic hand, probably by more than one scribe. Headings in red. Smaller initials in red or blue. The manuscript shows signs of constant use over a long period, with marginal notes in a great variety of hands. Many leaves stained, margins cropped and a few frayed. Nineteenth-century French binding of marbled boards, calf spine decorated in gilt and blind.

PROVENANCE

(1) The Cistercian Abbey of Fontaine Jean, near Montargis, between Sens and Orléans, a daughter house of Pontigny founded in 1124. A note on f. 104 reads, 'Nous auons de coustume en ceste maison de Fontaine Jehan Que quand vn religieulx decede, Le trantaisme iour On dict vnne grande Messe et vn Libera sur la fosse . . .' This is probably in the hand of a brother Denis Regnault who has written his name elsewhere in the book with dates ranging from 1590 to 1601. The names of other sixteenth-century brothers are recorded on f. 15b ('Nicolas Dignet 1542, qui mourut [a different hand] 1595') and f. 122b ('En lan 1548 . . . Frere Thomas Chammaillard fut profes'). Manuscripts from Fontaine Jean appear to be of the utmost rarity, probably because the monastery was burned by the Calvinists in the 16th century.

(2) Abbé Joseph Felix Allard (1795–1831), who owned also a number of manuscripts from Pontigny itself; purchased from him by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the late 1820's.

(3) Phillipps MS. 3744.

TEXT

Folio 16. The 'consuetudines' of the Cistercian Order, comprising here 123 chapters, of which 1 to 3 and part of 4 are missing. The last two chapters, *de magistro conversorum* and *de monacho vestiario* are not in the text printed by P. Guignard.

Folio 104. *Instituta generalis capituli apud cistercium*, preceded by a table of the 92 chapters. The text agrees closely with that of Dijon MS. 114, which can be dated between 1175 and 1182 (J. Turk).

Folio 118. *Usus Conversorum* (the regulations for the lay brethren), preceded

by a table of the 22 chapters, which are identical with those printed in Guignard.

Folio 123b. Carta Caritatis, the version known as *CC Posterior* (F. Masai).

Folio 1. Statutes promulgated by the general chapters for the years 1158 and 1180 to 1190. The statutes for the year 1158 are those printed as for the year 1157 (nos. 1–64) in *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Louvain 1933. The statutes for some of the later years are not complete. The text breaks off in the middle of the year 1190, an unknown number of leaves being lost.

In spite of the rapid growth of the Cistercian order in the 12th century very few early manuscripts of its statutes and 'uses' have survived. J. Turk cites only five manuscripts of the 12th century for the 'instituta' and the editor of the *Statuta Capitulum Generalium* cites only six manuscripts of the 12th or early 13th century; all are in public or monastic libraries on the continent of Europe.

DECORATION

The manuscript has three large ornamental initials; f. 1b, initial A, measuring 97×78 mm.; f. 38, initial I, the full height of the page but cut into at the top; and f. 93, initial A, about 78×73 mm. These are of foliate ornament, the first and third with lion's masks, the first also with animal-headed terminals. The colours are bold: red, blue, green and a pale brown. Cistercian illumination is always interesting and it is valuable to have this example from a smaller house to set beside the famous manuscripts (mostly of the first half of the century) from Cîteaux and Clairvaux itself. This decoration may be compared with that from the mother house of Pontigny, e.g. the Pontigny Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 8823, or other manuscripts whose illumination has been ascribed to Pontigny, e.g. the Dyson Perrins *Gratian* (sold in these rooms 9 December 1958, lot 3).

The other initials are blue or green with red penwork, or red with blue or green penwork.

LITERATURE

P. Guignard. *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon 1878.

J. Turk. *Cistercii Statuta Antiquissima*, 1949.

F. Masai. *Les études cisterciennes de J.-A. Lefèvre*, in *Scriptorium*, XI, 157, 119–123.

[SEE PLATE 6]

On vellum. 57 ll., plus a paper fly-leaf. Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves, with some catchwords and signatures. The first gathering missing, otherwise complete. 32 to 36 lines. 173 × 110 mm.; $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink in several small gothic hands, with many contractions. Wide margins (a few defective owing to natural flaws), with some pinholes visible. Some leaves slightly creased and stained. French eighteenth-century mottled calf, flat spine gilt with a repeated floral volute, red and green lettering pieces, marbled endpapers.

PROVENANCE

(1) Purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps from Royez, the bookseller of 7 rue du Pont de Lodi, Paris, c. 1823–6.

(2) Phillipps MS. 4388.

TEXT

Alain de Lille (Alanus ab Insulis) was born at Lille c. 1128 and died in 1201 or 1202 at Cîteaux. A famous teacher at Paris University and a scholastic philosopher of great influence, he shares with Albertus Magnus the title of *doctor universalis*. The *Anticlaudianus*, an elaborately constructed poetical allegory in about 6000 lines of hexameter verse, was intended to correct the deplorable sentiments of the fifth-century poet Claudian's *In Rufinum*, a work then enjoying some popularity in France. The theme is the creation of the soul by God. Nature is assisted by the Virtues, the liberal arts (Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy), Faith and Theology; several figures of classical and mythological antiquity appear – Plato (placed above Aristotle), Seneca, Ptolemy, Cicero and Vergil, as well as Hercules and Ulysses; Prudence journeys to Heaven in a splendid chariot driven by Reason; Fortune's palace and her wheel are also described. Ghel- linck, who classes the poem with Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandreis* as 'one of the best metrical productions of the 12th century', considers that it may easily have been one of Dante's sources of inspiration, and was in any case 'one of the links in the chain which leads gradually from the *Visio Wettini* of Walafridus Strabo to the *Divina Commedia*'. Raby suggests that 'it was not without its influence on the growth of French vernacular allegory'.

The work was an immediate success as the number of manuscripts in medieval inventories (including those of the Sorbonne and the Popes' library at Avignon) attests; commentaries were provided by Raoul de Longchamp about 1216 and by Guillaume of Auxerre about 1210, and a French translation was made before the end of the century. It was first printed at Basle in 1536, and reprinted at Venice in 1582 and at Antwerp in 1621 and 1654.

The present manuscript dates perhaps from the lifetime of the author. It begins with line 3 of Book II, chapter ii, *Verius haec eadem possunt examina dici*, and agrees fairly closely with the text printed in Migne. There is no division into books or chapters, but spaces have been left at intervals for large initials. At the end of the poem is a passage in prose (nearly one full page) on chaos and the elements, beginning *Quid chaos*. The two pages which follow contain the prologue usually found at the beginning of the poem (*Cum fulminis impetus . . .*) and some verses on the Herods and the Maries of the New Testament, beginning *Ascalonita necat pueros* (cf. Royal MS. II. A. I). A fourteenth-century note on the paper flyleaf at the beginning of the volume refers to the absence of the prologue from its usual place and discusses the meaning of the poem.

LITERATURE

Migne. *Patrologia latina*, ccx.

F. J. E. Raby. *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, Oxford 1927, pp. 297-300.

J. de Ghellinck. *L'essor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle*, Brussels and Paris 1946, II, pp. 241-2.

8 THE FOUR GOSPELS, IN GREEK

[NICAEA, FIRST QUARTER OF THE 13TH CENTURY – SALONICA (?), LAST
QUARTER OF THE 13TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 241 ll. (the existing foliation is faulty). Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves, with signatures (some cut away) in the upper margins of every first leaf; all the full-page miniatures are on inserted leaves. 25 lines. 205 × 150 mm.; 8 × 6 in. Written in black ink in a small and very regular upright hand of fine quality. Initials, marginal numbers and headings in red. Some leaves stained and worn and the outer margins of many leaves discoloured; the margin of f. 38 torn and the margin of f. 154 torn and repaired; some gatherings slightly loose; but with wide margins and in sound condition. Some miniatures are protected by old pieces of silk sewn to the leaf. Old velvet, very faded and rubbed, over canvas and wooden boards.

PROVENANCE

(1) Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (1766–1827), who acquired many MSS. in Greece where he travelled as a young man. He was the first Chancellor of the University of Corfu. Guilford sale, Evans, 28 February 1829, lot 663 (bought by Bohn).

(2) Phillipps MS. 3887.

DECORATION

The decoration consists of nineteen full-page miniatures, eight ornamental pages of the Eusebian Canons and four illuminated headpieces, one to each Gospel.

The Eusebian Canons (ff. 5–8b) are written in yellow inside yellow rules below ornamental headpieces in silver; the writing inside the headpieces is in gold. The most striking headpiece is on f. 5 where two lions rampant are entangled in tendrils of foliate ornament.

The illuminated headpieces ('pages tapis', as they are called in France) are of symmetrical foliate ornament on a gold ground; they measure about 93 mm. square. The first and last (ff. 10 and 192) have a bird on a tree in the outer margin and two birds in the upper one; the other two (ff. 78 and 122) have illuminated plants in the margin. The first initial of each Gospel is illuminated and is composed of animals or birds; the first line of the Gospel was originally in gold, now flaked away leaving the red priming.

The miniatures are as follows:

Folio 9b. St. Matthew, seated between two buildings, his head turned towards the reader ('the page as a whole thus acquires a rhythm of composition and a firmness of texture which are almost reminiscent of Romanesque art.' Buchthal).

Folio 76. The doubting of Thomas (the paint almost completely flaked off).

Folio 77b. St. Mark.

Folio 121b. St. Luke.

Folio 189b. The death of the Virgin; badly flaked, though the gold ground of the upper part, the impressive standing figure of Christ and parts of the coffin and two buildings remain.

Folio 191b. St. John and Prochorus (the Saint's face flaked, showing the under drawing).

Dr. Buchthal in his recent detailed study of this manuscript has associated these six miniatures, which are contemporary with the MS., with a group of manuscripts of which the chief is a New Testament in Paris, Coislin 200, traditionally supposed to have been a present to Louis IX of France from the Greek Emperor, Michael VIII. Dr. Buchthal argues for an earlier dating of this and the related manuscripts than was previously accepted and suggests that they are from the Court Scriptorium at Nicaea, the capital of the Greek Empire while Constantinople was in Latin hands from the Fourth Crusade until its recovery in 1261.

The other thirteen miniatures are replacements of somewhat later date, perhaps seventy-five years after the original ones, supplied no doubt because the original miniatures had flaked or otherwise deteriorated. They are as follows:

Folio 12. The Nativity (somewhat flaked, but substantially present).

Folio 15. The Baptism of Christ (some flaking on Christ's face).

Folio 45b. The Transfiguration.

Folio 65b. The Last Supper (a little flaking).

Folio 68. The Agony in the Garden ('a human document of an expressive force which has hardly ever been surpassed in the entire history of Byzantine art,' Buchthal).

Folio 74b. The Angel and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre.

Folio 104b. The Entry into Jerusalem (rather flaked).

Folio 124b. The Annunciation (some flaking).

Folio 129b. The Presentation in the Temple.

Folio 187. The Ascension.

Folio 190b. The Harrowing of Hell.

Folio 209. Pentecost (some flaking).

Folio 236. The Crucifixion (rather seriously flaked).

Of the contrast between these and the earlier miniatures Dr. Buchthal remarks: 'Instead of static postures and noble restraint there is uninhibited vitality and vigorous action. There is hardly a single picture that is entirely enclosed by its frame; draperies, limbs, entire figures project into the margins, interrupting the borders; frequently part of the frame is omitted altogether,

and the rugged outline of a human figure serves as borderline of the miniature. The compositions are full of inner tension: meaningful gestures and glances carry hidden messages, and the bizarre shapes of the architectural and landscape backgrounds echo the mannerism and the unorganic movements of the figures. The figures themselves comply with a new canon of proportions: they are either broad and stocky, with very large heads, or unnaturally elongated, with tiny heads on emaciated bodies. Movements are violent, gestures exaggerated . . .'

He cites comparable manuscripts in the Vatican (gr. 1208), Leningrad (MS. 101), the British Museum (Burney 20) and the Bodleian (Selden supra 6), and draws attention to the similarity of the miniatures with the frescoes in certain Serbian churches of the second half of the 13th century. The style is not metropolitan and it is suggested that the two artists of the miniatures may have belonged to an atelier in Salonica. 'The possibility of their having originated in Salonica should certainly be considered, though it goes without saying that no definite conclusions are possible at this stage'.

Dr. Buchthal concludes, 'What no one is likely to contest however, is that Phillipp's manuscript 3887 is one of the most important as well as one of the most beautiful thirteenth-century Byzantine illuminated manuscripts so far brought to light.'

LITERATURE

Hugo Buchthal. *An unknown Byzantine manuscript of the 13th century*, in *The Connoisseur*, April 1964.

[SEE FRONTISPIECE AND COLOUR PLATE B]

9 WILLIAM OF WYCUMB. LIFE OF ROBERT DE BETHUNE
[ENGLAND, MONASTERY OF LLANTONY SECUNDA(?), FIRST HALF OF THE 13TH
CENTURY]

On vellum. 37 ll., plus two vellum fly-leaves. Folios 16–21, 36 and 37 are fourteenth-century additions replacing lost leaves. Gatherings of 12 leaves (the last of 13). Double column. 23 lines. 262 × 190 mm.; 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink in a large and very regular early gothic book hand, the replacements imitating the original leaves. Headings in red. Initials in blue with good red penwork infilling and elaborate flourishes, some of which end in human and animal heads. Rubrication in red or blue. There are also a few marginal pen drawings of grotesques in brown ink (ff. 15, 24b, 25, 28, 29b, 30b, 31 and 35b). The original leaves stained, small holes in ff. 27 and 32, the lower margin of f. 14 cut away, but in perfectly legible and sound condition. Early nineteenth-century vellum, gilt border and spine.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Written almost certainly in the Monastery of Augustinian Canons Regular of Llantony secunda, in Gloucester (as were the only two other MSS. of this text), perhaps as a gift to the Bishop of Hereford.
- (2) Subsequently, according to Anthony à Wood, in the possession of a church in Hereford (Hereford Cathedral Library?).
- (3) Dr. Silas Taylor (1624–78), the Herefordshire antiquary, who may have obtained it from the Cathedral Library (cf. the grant of King Edgar which he obtained from Worcester Cathedral). (There is every probability that this is the Hereford Cathedral (?) – Taylor MS., recorded by Tanner and Anthony à Wood, as the prefatory letter begins with the same words.)
- (4) Thomas Bird, F.S.A., of Hereford; his sale at Hereford 8 March 1837, lot 51. (*The Literary Collections relating to Herefordshire, the property of the late Thomas Bird, Esq., F.S.A.*)
- (5) Phillipps MS. 22230.

TEXT

Robert de Bethune was a Frenchman who became second prior of the monastery of Augustinian Canons Regular which had been founded in the early years of the 12th century at Llantony in a remote valley in South Wales. In 1131 he was appointed Bishop of Hereford. Soon afterwards the canons were obliged to seek refuge from the anarchic conditions in the Welsh Marches; Robert de Bethune sheltered them in his palace at Hereford, gave them land at Frome and Prestbury and eventually persuaded Miles of Gloucester to grant them a site inside Gloucester for a new house known as Llantony secunda. William of Wycumb, his chaplain and biographer, became the fourth prior of Llantony but was removed, owing to his harsh discipline, by a mutiny among the monks.

This is one of only three known manuscripts of William of Wycumb's *Life*, the others being in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 475, and the British Museum, Cotton Julius D.X (both from Llantony secunda). The life has been printed once only, by Henry Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, using the text of the twelfth-century Lambeth MS., with notes of the variant readings of the thirteenth-century Cotton MS. The present manuscript agrees with the Cotton MS. in having a dedication to Reginald, Prior of Wenlock, and not to Henry, Bishop of Winchester.

The manuscript begins (f. 1) with a table of 30 chapters: *Capitula in procursum vite venerabilis Roberti herefordens. episcopi*. Wharton's chapter 30 (the account of the Bishop's burial) is here part of chapter 29. The present manuscript's chapter 30 (*de consequentibus miraculis*; chapter 30 in the table of chapters, but chapters 30 to 33 in the text itself) is omitted by Wharton, as are certain miracles described earlier in the text, because the miracles which it describes are 'more conducive to disgust than to faith'. After the table of chapters follows (f. 2) *Prologus Willi prioris lanth. ad Reginald. priorem de Weneloc*, agreeing fairly closely with Cotton Julius D.X but containing phrases not in the Cotton manuscript. The text of the life itself, *Procursus vite venerabilis Roberti hereford. episcopi*, beginning on f. 2b, agrees closely with that printed by Wharton.

LITERATURE

Anthony à Wood. *Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis*, 1674, I, 48.

Henry Wharton. *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, II, pp. 293-321.

Thomas Tanner. *Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica*, 1748, p. 364.

10 TURRIS VIRTUTUM ET POMERIUM FIDELIS ANIME

[GERMANY, ABBEY OF KEMPEN, 13TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 8 ll. and an inserted half-leaf. 285 × 220 mm.; 11½ × 7⅞ in. The first seven leaves written in a well-formed gothic hand; the last leaf in a less regular fifteenth-century hand. The diagrams in red, orange and green, with yellow wash shading. The first leaf somewhat stained and a small piece missing from the outer margin; upper outer corner of the last leaf tattered and the verso of the leaf stained; otherwise in sound condition. German nineteenth-century marbled boards, roan spine, red lettering-piece on the upper cover.

PROVENANCE

(1) The Cistercian Abbey of Kempen, in the Rhineland, diocese of Cologne, with ownership inscription on f. 2. The Abbey was founded in 1123 by Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne, the first of its Order in Germany.

(2) Dr. Leander van Ess (cf. lot 4). No. 137 in his *Sammlung und Verzeichniss handschriftlicher Bücher*, 1823.

(3) Philipps MS. 522.

CONTENTS

A full-page diagram occupies each of the first thirteen pages of the manuscript. *Folio 1. Turris sapientie.* The tower of wisdom is supported by four columns, each of three virtues, themselves standing on a foundation (*fundamentum est humilitas*). It consists of thirteen layers of bricks, each with a virtue at the left end (e.g. *Reverentia*), the remainder of the layer being devoted to examples (e.g. *Defer maiori*, *Honora senes*). An arched structure in the centre contains Obedience and Patience, and four narrow windows are devoted to the virtues of the religious life. Five gables marked with other qualities (e.g. *Increpatio ad dissolutos*) crown the edifice.

Folio 1b. Lignum vite factum a fratre bonaventure (i.e. the *Arbor crucis Christi* of St. Bonaventura). The Cross, surmounted by a pelican in its piety; twelve branches grow from the Cross, each inscribed with attributes of Christ which in turn bear fruit in the form of a virtue. The idea is based on *Revelations*, xxii, 2, 'the tree of life which bare twelve manner of fruits'. Twenty quotations from the Prophets are grouped round the tree.

Folio 2. The twelve articles of Faith, each being linked to an appropriate Prophet (with a quotation from the latter) and an Apostle (with a quotation from the Apostles' Creed).

Folio 2b. A wheel of seven concentric circles, each divided into seven arcs (the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, sacraments, gifts of the Holy Ghost, weapons of justice, works of charity, virtues and vices).

Folio 3. Rota pugne moralis. The wheel of moral struggle with spokes of contrasting virtues and vices.

Folio 3b. Arbor virtutum. The tree of virtues, with seven branches each bearing eight (the top branch ten) fruit.

Folio 4. The tree of vices, corresponding to the previous diagram but with the fruit growing downwards.

Folio 4b. The Ten Commandments, linked to the ten plagues of Egypt and ten abuses of the infidels.

Folio 5. The seven stages of the Passion, linked to the seven canonical hours and the seven senses.

Folio 5b. Arbor divini amoris. The tree of divine love, with twenty-nine fruits arranged in groups of three, the topmost fruit being Paradise.

Folio 6. Arbor sapientie, in which the seven ages are coupled with the seven Liberal Arts.

Folio 6b. The eight Beatitudes, the eight rewards and the nine orders of angels.

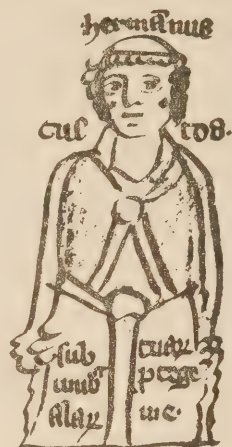
Folio 7. A tree of mystical experience, with a small head of Christ at the top.

The title, 'the tower of virtue and orchard of spiritual grace', is written in red at the head of f. 1; in the same position on f. 3b is written *Sequitur Pomerium fidelis anime*.

This work, unpublished and unstudied and apparently known in this form only from this unique manuscript (though Bonaventura's tree of life appears also in British Museum Royal MS. B.III, f. 278), is nothing less than an attempt by a monk of Kempen to provide a diagrammatic representation of the eternal truths of religion. It exemplifies in extreme form the obsession of the medieval mind with numbers and symmetry. This preoccupation was implicit in the Early Fathers, who derived it from the neo-Platonists, themselves permeated by the influence of Pythagoras. 'Saint Augustin considère les nombres comme des pensées de Dieu . . . La science des nombres est donc la science même de l'univers; les chiffres contiennent le secret du monde' (Mâle). As Emile Mâle has shown, the entire iconography of the Gothic cathedrals is based on these ideas; even fonts are octagonal because eight is the number of new life, and Dante was a child of his age in the importance he gave to the numerical framework of the *Divina Commedia* – Hell, Purgatory and Paradise are each divided into nine circles, and each part of his trilogy has thirty-three books in honour of the thirty-three years of Christ's life. The number seven, the sum of three, symbolising the Trinity, and four for the elements, seen in five diagrams in the present manuscript, was particularly venerable: 'le nombre sept, que les Pères avaient déclaré mystérieux entre tous, donnait le vertige aux contemplateurs du moyen âge'.

In the 14th century another monk has added diagrams showing the gifts to man of God, the church, the world and the flesh, and the seven deadly sins with their derivatives on f. 7b and the inserted half-leaf.

In the first half of the 15th century a three-quarter page drawing of a six-winged cherub, in red and blue with a little gold, was added on f. 8. The artist has provided a self-portrait below the drawing, half-length, holding a book with the words, *sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*. He is identified by the inscription round his head, *Hermannus Custos* (i.e. the sacristan) and may be identical with the Hermann von Kempen, sub-prior of Kempen, who in 1448 was elected Prior of the neighbouring monastery of Bottenbroich (Dicks). He was also no doubt the author and scribe of the accompanying text on the lower part of the page and on f. 8b. This is an abbreviated version of the treatise *De sex alis Cherubim*, printed as by Alain de Lille in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, ccx, p. 273 (with a reproduction of a similar drawing in a MS. at St. Vaast).



LITERATURE

Emile Mâle. *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, 1925, Ch. I.

M. Dicks. *Die Abtei Campen am Niederrhein*, Kempen 1913, p. 576.

[SEE PLATE 7]

On vellum. 164 ll. (lacking 6 ll.). Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves, with a few catchwords (ii, viii and x 6; ii and iv misbound, with directions in the lower margins for the correct sequence of the leaves; xxi (last but one) also misbound and wrongly placed after xx; 2 leaves wanting in v and single leaves wanting in xii, xiii, xiv and xvii). Double column. 45 or 46 lines. 308 × 208 mm.; 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Written in black ink by more than one scribe, with flourishes to some letters at the top and bottom of the page. Initials in red with blue penwork or blue with red penwork. Half of ff. 155 and 159 torn away; corners of ff. 1 and 82 lacking with the loss of a few words; in used, but sound condition.

PROVENANCE

(1) The birth and baptism on 23 September 1578 of Edme, son of . . . Guyon (?), are recorded on the last page of the text and again on the paste-down at the end. His godparents' names are given as Edme Mallerey and Jaqueline, wife of Anthoine Viguiet.

(2) This appears to be the MS. which belonged to Pierre Séguier, Chancellor of France (1588–1672) who possessed a 'Roman des Loherans' of which the second folio began, like that of the present manuscript, with the words 'Et meint tirant' (Delisle).

(3) Note of ownership 'Grosley' above the beginning of the text, i.e. probably Pierre Jean Grosley (1718–1785), historian and man of letters, whose *Dissertation sur cette question, si les lettres ont contribué aux progrès des mœurs* was runner-up to Rousseau's prize-winning essay in the competition organised by the Academy of Dijon in 1751.

(4) A slip of paper pasted inside the upper cover has notes by two eighteenth-century scholars comparing the manuscript with another of the same romance 'donné au College [i.e. the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, which had an important collection of manuscripts?] par mr le president de Corberon' (either Nicolas Corberon or his son of the same name, who between them held the office of 'premier président' of Colmar from 1700 to 1747).

(5) Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (cf. lot 8); his sale, Evans, 28 February 1829, lot 651.

(6) Phillipps MS. 24827 (originally numbered 2937).

TEXT

Garin le Loherain is the earliest member – and, according to Miss Jessie Crossland (p. 172), 'the outstanding poem of the little group, both on account of its epic qualities and literary value' – of the cycle of chansons de geste known as *La Geste des Lorrains*, which deals with the fortunes of the descendants of

Thierri of Metz. 'Les Lorrains', as they are called, are engaged in a long and complicated struggle against a rival family known as 'Les Bordelais'. The adventurous campaigns which the poet describes have, so far as is known, no foundation in history. The poem is traditionally ascribed to a certain Jean de Flagy, of whom nothing is known, but is now believed to be the work of more than one author. Its language and its descriptions of feudal customs point to the end of the 12th century as the date of its composition. Miss Crossland (p. 180) describes it as 'dignified and reasonable throughout and intensely interesting owing to the vividness of its descriptions and the clever characterisation of its "dramatis personae".'

The poem has been printed once only, in 1833, and no recent attempt appears to have been made to collate or even to record the various manuscripts which exist. No manuscript is recorded in the British Museum *Catalogue of Romances* and only a single small fragment is mentioned in De Ricci's *Census* (p. 2255).

The text in the present manuscript must originally have comprised some 30,500 lines of which six leaves, with rather over 1,000 lines, are now missing. The poem begins

Vielle chancon uoire plest uos oir
De bone estoire uos dirai sanz mentir

and ends

Qi uost Gu[erin] le loherane murtrir
Alez uos an ludemanz est feniz.
Explicit deu loherane Ga:
Et de Guill. de fro: le gentis.

DECORATION

There are four historiated initials in a good style on gold grounds (the first two and the last rather rubbed).

Folio 1. Two bishops crown a king.

Folio 50b. A mounted knight, dressed for hunting and with a hound, takes leave of his lady.

Folio 98b. A group of mounted knights pursuing a single one.

Folio 155. A bishop marrying a king and his lady.

BINDING

French fourteenth-century binding of calf over wooden boards, decorated in blind with repeated impressions of small square tools; a pelican in its piety is repeated to form the border; the field is decorated with seven vertical columns of repeated tools, arranged symmetrically on either side of the centre which is

formed by the same pelican, the others being (from the centre outwards) bee, fleur-de-lys and rosette; four metal bosses on each cover; two clasps and catches lacking; both covers somewhat wormed.

A *terminus ante quem* for this binding (of excellent quality) is probably provided by an inscription on the end flyleaf, conjoint with the pastedown, *En lan de grace mil ccc iii^{xx} xi* [1391].

LITERATURE

Léopold Delisle. *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, 1874, II, p. 93.

Jessie Crosland. *Medieval French Literature*, Oxford 1956.

Li Romans de Garin le Loherain, ed. P. Paris, Paris 1833.

[SEE PLATE 8]

On vellum. 164 ll. (the fifteenth-century foliation omits a leaf after f. 23 but is otherwise correct), plus 7 old vellum flyleaves. No catchwords or signatures. About half of the last leaf is missing (the missing text supplied in an eighteenth-century hand on a loose leaf of paper), also small portions of the text of f. 5 and f. 96 (on the latter the missing words are supplied on a vellum addition of the 18th century); otherwise apparently complete. Double column. 40 lines. 287×188 mm.; 11¼×7⅜ in. Written in black ink by a single scribe in a small somewhat rounded gothic hand. Large initials in red and blue with penwork ornament; smaller initials in red with blue penwork or blue with red penwork (in many places the scribe has written the initial in the margin for the guidance of the illuminator). Many natural flaws in the vellum, some apparently repaired before the manuscript was written and others at various later dates, and many margins cut into and repaired. Like all romance MSS. of this age, the present one shows signs of use, but it is in remarkably good condition, with broad outer and lower margins. Eighteenth-century straight-grained red morocco, gilt border and spine, g.e [by Wier].

PROVENANCE

(1) A note in Latin in a French hand on the first vellum flyleaf records that the manuscript was purchased on 8 June 1479 by an owner whose name cannot be read.

(2) Count MacCarthy-Reagh, of Toulouse. The MS. is in one of the characteristic bindings executed for him c. 1774 by Richard Wier, an English bookbinder who travelled to Toulouse for the purpose (cf. Charles Ramsden in *The Book Collector*, December 1953). The MS. is not in the MacCarthy sale catalogue of 1815 and was presumably discarded earlier in one of MacCarthy's numerous sales of duplicates.

(3) Phillipps MS. 4377 (bought from the Paris bookseller Royez c. 1823-6).

TEXT

Folio 1. La Queste del Saint Graal, beginning *La veille de la pentecoste quant li compaignon de la table roonde furent venu a kamaalot*, and ending *et quant boorz at contees les aventures del graal celes quilles ot veues, si furent mises en escrit et gardes en larmaire de salesbieres, dont mestre Gautier map le trest a fere son livre do s. graal por amor do roi henri son segnor qui fist lestoire translater en francois, si se test atant que plus nen dit a ceste foiz des aventures del s. graal.*

Folio 81. La Mort le Roi Artur, beginning *Après ce que mestre Gautier map ot translate des aventures del saint graal assez seffisamment*, and ending *si se test ore*

atant mestre Gautier map de lancelot et fenist ici son livre si outreement que apres ce nen porroit nus renier qui nen mentist de totes choses. Explicit la mort artur.

The attribution of both parts of the work to Walter Map is now known to be fictitious.

The manuscript comprises the two concluding portions of the great French prose romance of Arthurian legends known as the 'Lancelot in prose'. The first of these, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, was composed probably c. 1220 and reflects very closely the ascetic and mystical ideas of the Cistercian order. The second, *La Mort le Roi Artur*, dates from the second quarter of the 13th century and emanates probably from the region of Champagne. Of *La Queste* it has been said (Pauphilet, p. 171) that it 'inaugurates the psychological novel in France', and *La Mort Artur* is of even greater importance. In the judgement of most critics (see the opinions cited by Frappier) it is – in its synthesis of Christian and courtly morality, its dramatic power and its psychological subtlety – incomparably the finest piece of literature in the whole series of Arthurian romances. Such was its prestige in the Middle Ages that when Malory composed his English version of the whole story he used for its title the name of the final portion only of the French romance.

Thirty-nine manuscripts of *La Queste* are recorded by Pauphilet, and forty-five of *La Mort Artur* by Frappier. Five of these, including the present manuscript, contain both *La Queste* and *La Mort Artur* but no other portions of the Lancelot in prose. Three only of these five are of the 13th century: the present manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 9627–9628 and British Museum, Add. MS. 17443. The present manuscript, which is not mentioned by Pauphilet, belongs to his family β. It is briefly mentioned but not analysed by Frappier and belongs to his family δ. With the exception of four Phillipps manuscripts, all those in the lists of Pauphilet and Frappier are in public libraries on the continent of Europe or in England. Of the Phillipps manuscripts two (MS. 130 and MS. 1045) are now in Yale University Library (MS. 229 and MS. 227). The former was one of four Arthurian manuscripts from the Phillipps collection sold in these rooms on 1 July 1946 (lots 6, 7, 8 and 10). A manuscript of *La Mort Artur* not recorded by Frappier is in the library of Dr. and Mrs. R. S. Loomis of New York (De Ricci, *Census, Supplement*, 405). Otherwise there appear to be no manuscripts of either *La Queste* or *La Mort Artur* in the United States.

DECORATION

A single historiated initial at the beginning of *La Queste* (f. 1) in colours on a gold ground (damaged and repaired) represents the first scene in the story; Arthur, seated on his throne, raises his hand to bless the unknown damsel who has come to Camelot in search of Lancelot.

LITERATURE

A. Pauphilet. *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, Paris 1921.

J. Frappier. *Les Études sur la Mort le Roi Artur*, Paris 1926.

13 OVID. EPISTOLAE EX PONTO

[FRANCE (PARIS?), LAST QUARTER OF THE 13TH CENTURY (BEFORE 1296)]

On vellum. 55 ll. Gatherings of 8 leaves, the last of 7. 29 or 30 lines. 168 × 123 mm.; $6\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ in. Written by a single scribe in brown ink in a small gothic hand with many contractions. Large initials to each epistle in red; initial letters of every line touched with red. The first and last few leaves creased and stained and a few margins frayed; the upper margins trimmed close to the text, but in sound and legible condition. A title and four-page list of contents added c. 1800 on paper leaves at the beginning. Red morocco, gilt border and spine, g.e., green silk endleaves, by Bozérien jeune, signed at the foot of the spine.

PROVENANCE

(1) Between the colophon and the last line of text what appears to be a different, but approximately contemporary hand has added in red: *Anno domini [m^c] nōagesimo sexto [1296]*. Three other half-erased dates have been scribbled lower on the same page, one of which reads: *Anno dni m^o cc^o nonag. nono die mercurii ante ramos* (i.e. Wednesday before Palm Sunday, 1299). Scribbblings on the opposite page include: 'Ego hivi de buxiaco die dominica . . . parva paricio mense ianverii' (apparently in the same hand as the date 1299 just quoted), a fourteenth-century jingle 'Omnibus omnia non mea sompnia dicere possum', and a fifteenth-century French signature 'Parfutilli'.
(2) Phillipps MS. 6891 ('Ex Bibl. Miscellaneis').

TEXT

At the end of the text is the colophon:

Explicit iste liber scriptor sit crimine liber

Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam liber explicit iste.

The *Epistolae ex Ponto* form, with the *Tristia*, the plaintive record of Ovid's exile on the shores of the Black Sea. Apart from a short sixth-century fragment, the main authority for the text is a ninth-century manuscript in Hamburg, itself incomplete, supplemented by two twelfth-century manuscripts in Munich. These three manuscripts form what the editors of the *Ex Ponto* (e.g. S. G. Owen, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Tristium libri quinque Ex Ponto libri quattuor*, Oxford University Press, 1915) describe as Class I. All other known manuscripts are grouped in Class II, the most important members of which are three thirteenth-century manuscripts, at Eton, Holkham and in the Bodleian. The text of the present manuscript does not appear to have been examined by any editor of the *Ex. Ponto*. It belongs evidently to Class II and it cannot be many years later than the earliest member of this class. Six lines are missing after II, ii, line 8; otherwise the text appears to be complete.

The popularity of Ovid in the later Middle Ages is well known. The

Remedia Amoris was actually used as a school text in the 13th century (see E. K. Rand, *The Classics in the 13th Century*, in *Speculum*, iv, 1929, 249–261), and his other poems were much studied in the universities and even in monasteries. A catalogue of the library of the Abbey of S. Pons de Thomières, in the diocese of Narbonne, dated 1276 (Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, ii, 536–550) shows that a manuscript of the *Ex Ponto* was at the time on loan to a certain D. de Aqua Viva. The present manuscript was perhaps prepared by a student of the university of Paris for his own use. Ovid was one of the earliest classical authors to be printed and the *Ex Ponto* was included in the two editions of his works published in 1471, by Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome and by Balthasar Azoguidus in Bologna (HC 12137 and 12136).

The rarity of thirteenth-century manuscripts of classical texts in private ownership is well known. Only two comparable MSS. of Ovid have been sold in our rooms in the last thirty-five years: the Hely-Hutchinson MS. of the *Metamorphoses*, also from the Philipps collection (12 March 1956, lot 461), and the Hastings MS. of the *Ex Ponto*, dated 1263 (20 July 1931, lot 4). Only one MS. of the *Ex Ponto* earlier than the 15th century is recorded in the U.S.A. (an Italian manuscript of c. 1300 in the Lodge Collection at Columbia University).

On vellum. 207 ll. (including three original blank leaves), plus 4 vellum pastedowns and fly-leaves. Gatherings mostly of 10 leaves (the first of 4, a few others of 8 or 12), with catch-words (mostly cut away). 18 lines. 300 × 220 mm.; 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Written in black ink in a large and regular gothic liturgical hand. Musical notation on a 4-line stave on 42 pages. Headings, initials and musical staves in red. Large initials in red or blue with flourished penwork in blue or red at the beginning of every lesson. The ink on some pages faded and a few words re-written, but on the whole in good condition, on very fine vellum and with exceptionally wide outer and lower margins. The two double leaves pasted inside the upper and lower covers (the second leaf of each pair is a fly-leaf) are from a single gathering of a late thirteenth-century manuscript of a collection of 'sentences' (i.e. passages from the fathers on theological questions), written in a small hand with many contractions, with headings and initials in red and a running title in the upper margins: *liber septimus collectionum sententiarum doctorum*.

PROVENANCE

- (1) No doubt originally written for a Dominican house in Bologna.
- (2) In the 17th century it seems to have belonged to the Dominican nuns of S. Maria Nuova in Bologna. On f. 10 is a partly erased inscription: 1686. *Iste liber est Conventus Sanctimonialium S. Marie . . . bononie ordinis sacri Predicatorum*. There were two convents of Dominican nuns in the city at that time: the community attached to the sanctuary church of the Madonna di San Luca on the Monte della Guardia, and the convent of S. Maria Nuova. The date of foundation of the latter does not appear to be recorded but L. Frati mentions manuscript records from 1607 (*Opere della bibliografia bolognese*, Bologna 1888, i, p. 195).
- (3) Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (cf. lot 8), with his bookplate; his sale, Evans, 8 December 1830, lot 130.
- (4) Phillipps MS. 5219.

TEXT

Folio 1. *Modus legendi evangelium in his qui iam ponuntur et in similibus . . .*, i.e. musical notation for two voices ('media' or 'superior' and 'inferior') for the first and last words of the lessons. Folio 4 blank.

Folio 5. Gospels for the liturgical year, with musical notation for the 'liber generationis' on Christmas Eve, the baptism of Christ on Epiphany, and the blessing of the Easter candles (the Exultet ceremony) on Good Friday. Folio 165 blank.

Folio 166. Gospels for the Sanctorale, including the feast of St. Dominic, and the Common of Saints. The original hand has added a gospel for the feast of

Corpus Christi on f. 205*b* and three short prayers to St. Bernard on f. 207*b*.

The addition of Corpus Christi (adopted by the Dominican order in 1323) and the omission of St. Thomas Aquinas (adopted in 1326) indicate that the manuscript was written before the end of the first quarter of the 14th century. A date of before 1300 is suggested by the style of the miniatures.

DECORATION

In addition to the ornamental red and blue initials at the beginning of every lesson the manuscript is decorated with eleven historiated initials of excellent quality and one illuminated initial (f. 187*b*). The last three have the peculiarity that they are placed entirely in the margin. All are prolonged by bar ornaments ending in volutes or stylised leaves. The backgrounds are dark blue, patterned in white; the principal colours are red, orange, pink, brown and grey (there is no gold). The subjects are as follows:

Folio 5. The Entry into Jerusalem, an initial I extending the whole height of the text and prolonged into the lower margin by a bar ending in a volute, with three scenes: above, Christ sends out the two disciples; centre, Christ seated on the ass; above him a man throws down a branch; beneath him two men spread garments; bottom, a man raises a branch and shouts.

*Folio 10*b*.* Christ seated, holding a book, his right hand raised in blessing.

Folio 14. Joseph and Mary on the way to Bethlehem, Mary riding on an ass, with a servant leading an ox (the figures are in the lower margin on a bar attached to an initial I).

*Folio 15*b*.* The Nativity, a curious composition on different levels, showing Byzantine influence, with Mary and Joseph and the shepherds adoring the infant Christ in the manger.

*Folio 18*b*.* The Baptism of Christ.

*Folio 22*b*.* The Adoration of the Magi.

*Folio 117*b*.* A priest blessing the Easter candle (in the initial E of Exultet).

Folio 127. The Angel and the Three Women at the Sepulchre, also on two levels.

*Folio 173*b*.* The Annunciation. The bar ornament below the initial terminates in a bird's head.

*Folio 180*b*.* St. John the Baptist, in a hair shirt, holding a scroll with the words 'Vox clamantis . . .'

*Folio 182*b*.* St. Mary Magdalen, clothed in her own hair.

The patterned blue grounds, the signs of Byzantine influence and the tendency to arrange scenes in vertical registers are all characteristic of Bolognese thirteenth-century work, at this time the leading school of illumination in the peninsula. The purely linear treatment of faces, with little or no attempt at

modelling, link this MS. with a group (another example is the *Infortiatum* in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin) which according to Paolo D'Ancona (*La Miniature italienne*, 1925, Ch. 2) should be considered as of the school of Oderisi da Gubbio, mentioned in documents of 1269 and 1271 and called by Dante

'l'onor di quell'arte

Che alluminare è chiamata in Paris'.

(A summary of the varied opinions on Oderisi is given by D'Ancona and Aeschlimann, *Dictionnaire de miniaturistes*, 1949, p. 161.)

BINDING

Sixteenth-century reddish-brown morocco, decorated in blind with a lace-work border and with repeated impressions of a small rosette and a bud-tool. The two central compartments of the (original) spine are decorated with four impressions of a small tool of the Milanese viper (*biscia*) from the Visconti arms. Each cover is decorated with five brass quadrilobe plaques, repoussés with four rosettes inside a narrow border of quatrefoils (one of the plaques on the upper cover defective). Blue edges; two clasps and catches (two clasps lacking).

This is a Bolognese binding (the bud-tool may be seen on the handsome Bible reproduced by De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, II, pl. 229). Although both covers are rubbed, it is in remarkable condition, with the original spine, and entirely unrestored. The metal plaques are decorative and noteworthy; they are usually found on large choir-books and have scarcely ever all survived.

[SEE PLATES 9 AND 10]

15 JACQUES DE LONGUYON. LES VOEUX DU PAON
[NORTH-EASTERN FRANCE, FIRST HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 148 ll. (including two original blank leaves), plus a vellum flyleaf. Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves (the fifth of 7, the fifteenth of 6, the last of 7), with catchwords. Complete, but several leaves misbound. 28 lines. 233 × 143 mm.; 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink by two scribes in a rounded gothic hand. Initials in blue with red penwork or red with blue penwork. Many leaves somewhat stained, but the margins mostly wide, with pinholes visible, and in good condition. Eighteenth-century green velvet, marbled endpapers.

PROVENANCE

(1) Belonged in the 14th and 15th century to the ancient and important families of Rosay and de la Rivière, of the Nivernais (see Moréri, *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, 1759, ix, p. 222). Births in these families are recorded on the verso of the last page of text and the two original blank leaves which follow: five children born to Guillaume de Rosay and his wife Philliberde de Merin between 1380 and 1386 'ho chatel danemor', at Rosay, and 'ho chateau de mortagie', and three children born to Jehan de la Rivière and his wife Aliys de la Perrière in 1326 and 1327, at Vernoul and elsewhere. The father of these latter children was Jean III de la Rivière (d. 1468), counsellor and chamberlain of Charles of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, who married in 1424 Alix de la Perrière, dame de Verneuil (see Moréri, *loc. cit.*). On the same pages various members of these families have written notes of ownership and other scribbles, including two declarations of love to a lady named Jeanne ('je suis voutre leal servent and le seray toute ma vie . . .') and four doggerel verses about the siege of Bourges in 1426 ('Lan mil quatre c. et xx et vi / fut devant les murz de bour assiz / Vne visie plaine de pois / qui an fit fine tous les angloys').

(2) A long note concerning *Les Voeux du Paon* on the verso of the last page of text is signed by Pierre Masson, bachelor of theology of Paris, and dated 1672. The same Pierre Masson owned, or perhaps merely studied, in the same year a manuscript of *Le Roman du Lis* now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (De Ricci, *Census*, 1342).

(3) Auguste Chardin (cf. lot 5); no. 300 in his *Catalogue de livres précieux, manuscrits et imprimés*, 1811.

(4) Robert Lang, of Portland Place, who formed a magnificent collection of French romances; his sale, Evans, 17 November 1828, lot 2306 (bought by Payne for £19).

(5) Phillipps MS. 3638.

TEXT

Les Voeux du Paon is one of the latest additions to the Alexander cycle of

French metrical romances, in which Alexander, transformed into a medieval knight, is made to engage in a series of chivalrous and romantic adventures. The incidents are based upon a fabulous biography of Alexander written probably at Alexandria c. 200 A.D. and known as the 'Pseudo-Callisthenes', but as the cycle proceeds the original is left far behind. The jongleur Jacques de Longuyon, who composed *Les Voeux* in about 1310, drew almost entirely upon his own invention to provide what has been called 'a singularly attractive picture of fourteenth-century chivalry' (Graeme Ritchie). The work was dedicated to Thibaut de Bar, Bishop of Liège, and it was probably Bishop Thibaut who suggested the incident of the 'vows of the peacock' which gives the poem its title, for, though the custom of vowing to birds of mystic or heraldic significance was not unknown in his day, it was a practice in which the Bishop appears to have shown a special interest. A poem about a vow to a sparrow-hawk also owed its inspiration to him and it has been suggested that it was his influence which caused Edward I, in the last year of his life, to vow to God and the swan that he would march into Scotland and chastise the Bruce (Ritchie, i, Introduction, xxxviii-xl). In France the poem, which achieved instant and widespread popularity, gave rise to a whole literature of 'vows'.

The incident of the peacock occurs halfway through the poem (f. 68b). The captive knight Porrus, son of King Clarus, walking in a courtyard of the castle where he is a prisoner, sees a peacock and shoots it with a bow. The bird is immediately sent to the kitchen and the prisoner, his captors and the ladies of the castle presently sit down to a feast. Before devouring the peacock each member of the company makes a vow to it of some brave or generous deed that he or she will perform.

A second feature of the poem won a permanent place not only in literature but in art: the theme of the Nine Worthies – three pagans, three Jews and three Christians – who are singled out as the noblest men who ever lived. Though foreshadowed in earlier works, this subject was first treated at length in the digression in *Les Voeux* which recounts the deeds of the Noble Nine (ff. 133b–135b of the present manuscript), and it is from their appearance in *Les Voeux* that the vogue of the worthies is believed to date (see I. Gollancz, *Parlement of the Three Ages*, Oxford, 1915).

The plot of the poem is extremely complicated. Briefly, Alexander meets an old man Cassamus, whom he promises that he will avenge upon the wicked Clarus, King of Ind, who has captured Cassamus's niece Fesonas. Clarus is supported by a gallant knight called the Baudrain, who eventually marries Edeas, the niece of Fesonas. There is much riding about the country and many single combats, battles and sieges, in which little blood is shed. Knights, when

captured, pass their captivity in feasting, chess and conversation with fair ladies. Finally, after a great battle at Epheson, in which some of the characters of the poem actually lose their lives, the opposing factions are reconciled and the surviving knights and ladies are happily betrothed.

Frequently published in the 16th century, *Les Voeux* has never been reprinted in its entirety. But the second half of the poem is printed, with a critical examination of the manuscripts known to him, in *The Buik of Alexander* (see below; the title is of a fifteenth-century Scottish poem which is largely a translation of *Les Voeux*). The present manuscript agrees in many respects with Ritchie's family S, but ends like his family N with the lines given below. According to E. B. Ham, the text of the present manuscript exhibits certain dialectical peculiarities (such as *le* for *la*, *se* for *sa*) of the North-Eastern part of France.

Of the thirty-four known MSS. of the poem, one each is in the Vatican, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Brussels, Rouen, the Arsenal Library, Paris and the Liverpool Public Library (formerly Phillipps 2582), three each in the British Museum and the Bodleian, and seventeen in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The only MSS. recorded in America are one in the Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, and one in the collection of the late William S. Glazier (reproduced with a colour plate in the exhibition of *Manuscripts from the William S. Glazier Collection*, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1959). The poem begins:

Après che qualizandres ot de defur conquis

Et a forche despee ochis le duc de melchis

and ends:

Car puis que li vrais diex le siecle commencha

Tel prinche ne nasqui ne iamaiz ne naistra.

Explicit les veus du paon.

DECORATION

In addition to an elaborately flourished penwork initial in red and blue at the beginning of the text, the manuscript is decorated with thirteen oblong miniatures of admirable quality, extending the whole width of the page. The first is on a checkered ground, the others on plain gold grounds. The subjects are (line references to the text printed by Ritchie):

Folio 1. Alexander meets an old man in mourning, Cassamus of Larris (line 1, rather rubbed).

Folio 28. Cassamus, the Baudrain, Edeas and Fesonas (two couples, standing among trees, line 1519).

Folio 32b. Betis and the Baudrain talking to Edeas, Fesonas and Ydorus in the chamber of Venus (line 1796, rather rubbed).

Folio 34b. Clarus, standing in front of his pavilion (line 1908, slightly rubbed).

Folio 38. The spy rows across the water (full of fish) to Cassamus (line 2107).

Folio 40. Alexander greets Cassamus in front of his pavilion (line 2200, slightly rubbed.)

Folio 42b. Gadifer and his followers do homage to Alexander (line 2359).

Folio 43b. Emenidus and his followers do homage to Gadifer (line 2384).

Folio 49. The Baudrain and Fesonas play chess, watched by Cassamus and Edeas (line 2705).

Folio 54b. Porrus rides away from the wounded Floridas (line 3058).

Folio 68b. Porrus aims his bow at a peacock upon a tower; a lady looks on (line 3812, illustrating the central event of the story and the largest miniature, measuring 73 mm. square).

Folio 122. The battle of Epheson (line 6852).

Folio 144b. Alexander lays aside his armour (line 8054).

LITERATURE

R. L. Graeme Ritchie. *The Buik of Alexander*, Scottish Text Society, 1925-29.

E. B. Ham. *Three Neglected Manuscripts of the Voeux du Paon*, in *Modern Language Notes*, xlv, 1931, pp. 78-84.

[SEE COLOUR PLATE C]

[ENGLAND, ABBEY OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS, FIRST HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 213 ll. (including two blank leaves after f. 73 and contemporary flyleaves and pastedowns at the beginning and end). Folios 7–54 are perhaps some years earlier than the remainder of the volume, which is uniform in character. Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves, with catchwords. Folios 7–54 double column, 36 or 37 lines; the remainder mostly single column, 45 lines. 260 × 193 mm.; 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Written in brown ink in a regular, somewhat rounded gothic book hand, with notes and additions in various cursive hands. Headings and initials in red. A large penwork initial on f. 7 in red and brown containing a human face; other initials in red with brown penwork or brown with red penwork. An early reader has embellished the margins of the *Flores* with drawings of the heads of kings, queens and bishops, crowns and mitres, a chalice, a man transfixed by a sword, etc. The margins of a few leaves cut close affecting the notes; but in very sound condition.

PROVENANCE

(1) The great Benedictine Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, founded in 637 by Sigebert, King of East Anglia, renamed after the relics of King Edmund, martyred by the Danes in 870, had been laid in it; the wealthiest and most important monastic house in East Anglia. The Abbey's distinctive ownership inscription and press-mark is written in a fourteenth-century hand at the top of f. 7: *Liber monachorum sancti edmundi. C 59*. The same hand has supplied a list of contents on the opposite page, with a note that the book was bought by Brother William of Colchester (and not therefore written in the Abbey).

The MS. was unknown to M. R. James and to Mr. N. R. Ker (*Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 1964). Another Bury manuscript, with a very similar ownership inscription, was in Sir A. Chester Beatty's collection (sale in our rooms, 7 June 1932, lot 6).

(2) Dr. Taylor, Chancellor of Hereford. On f. 6b is a note in pencil in Sir Thomas Phillipps's hand that he bought the MS. from Dr. Taylor's Executors in 1837.

(3) Phillipps MS. 11257.

TEXT

Folio 7. The Chronicle of Martin of Troppau, papal penitentiary (d. 1278), commonly known as Martinus Polonus or (from his birthplace) Martinus Oppavianus. Three editions were produced by the author in his lifetime, the two latest of which include a brief summary of world history before Christ and one of the earliest versions of the story of the female Pope Joan. The text here is that of the latest recension, with an addition bringing the chronicle of the

Popes down to the death of Honorius IV in 1287. The chronicle of the Emperors ends with an account of the expedition of Prince Edward of England to the Holy Land in 1268. As is usual, the chronicle of the Popes occupies successive versos and that of the Emperors successive rectos, with catchwords from verso to verso and recto to recto.

Folio 55. Miscellaneous historical material, as follows: (i) An account of the missions of papal legates to England from 1206 to 1317 (f. 55); (ii) A summary of the treatise of William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, with later additions and with a note at the end: . . . *finis liber Willelmi Malmesburie monachi quem pretitulavit de gestis pontificum anglorum. summam ipsius libri breviter ut excipientibus mos est conpegimus hic* . . . (ff. 56–64b); (iii) *Leges sēi Edwardi per Willm cōquestorē Regem Angl. approbate et confirmate* (ff. 65–68); (iv) Extracts from the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth (ff. 68b–71b); (v) Extracts from the history of Gildas (ff. 72–73); (vi) A list of the founders of English monasteries (f. 73b; ff. 74 and 75 are blank); (vii) A list of papal bulls relating to England, followed by miscellaneous historical notes (ff. 76–76b); (viii) A prophecy on Scotland, in 44 lines of elegiac verse, beginning *Regnum Scotorum fuit inter cetera Regna* (see *Catalogue of Romances*, i, 327), and a prophecy for the year 1326, in 13 hexameters, beginning *Anno mille C. ter. x. bis sexto dabit Eter* (found also in Royal MS. 12 C. XII, f. 6) (ff. 77–77b); (ix) *Prophetia methodii et memoriale temporum*, the Latin paraphrase of the prophecies of the pseudo-Methodius (apparently the same version as that in Royal MS. 8 F. VIII, f. 170) (ff. 78–79b); (x) *Pronosticacio de futuris temporibus secundum fratrem Vincencium Belvacensem*, extracts from the *Speculum* of Vincent de Beauvais (ff. 80–81b).

Folio 82. *Flores Historiarum*, a chronicle of universal and English history, the first part (down to 1265) compiled at St. Albans from the works of Matthew Paris, the continuation (down to 1306) written probably at Westminster (see H. R. Luard, *Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 95 i–iii, 1890). The text in the present manuscript, which was not examined by Luard, is continued to the year 1340. It does not appear to agree closely with that of any of the manuscripts described by Luard, but includes many passages of Westminster interest for the years 1265 to 1308. At the end of this year, a fourteenth-century scribe has written in the margin *Explic. cronica Rad. Baldok*, i.e. the Ralph de Baldock whose election as Bishop of London in 1304 is recorded in the text. A history of England attributed to him is said to have existed in the 16th century (see *DNB*), but he has not been mentioned previously as the author of the continuation of the *Flores*. The entries for the years 1309 to 1334 are written in a slightly larger version of the hand of the rest of the text (but perhaps by the same scribe). They agree for the most part with the chronicle of Adam

Murimuth, the author of a work generally known as *Continuatio Chronicarum* covering the period from 1303 to his death in 1347 (ed. E. Maunde Thompson, Rolls Series, 93, 1889), with some omissions and additions. The author's name (*Ex[tracta] cronicis Ade Merimoz can. Lond.*) is given in a marginal note at the beginning of the year 1309 (in the same hand as the attribution on the same page to R. de Baldock). Both these attributions are repeated in the fourteenth-century table of contents on f. 7. The brief entries for the years 1335 to 1340 are later additions, by a single scribe, in a cursive hand.

On the last leaves, otherwise blank, various obits are entered for the years 1341 to 1361. Among them are John of Crowden, Prior of Ely, 1341; William of Benham, Abbot of St. Edmund's, 1360; his successor, Henry of Hunstanton, at Avignon, in the same year; the Prior and 18 monks of St. Edmund's, as a result of a general pestilence, 1361. The destruction by a tempestuous wind of the great bell-tower of the abbey, together with the presbitery and the chapel of St. Mary, is recorded under the same year.

On the pastedown inside the upper cover and the five following leaves are extracts from a commentary on a philosophical work and from a chronicle (A.D. 1244) and a list of important historical events ending in A.D. 1135, in various fourteenth-century hands. The two flyleaves and the pastedown at the end are part of the same philosophical commentary.

The whole manuscript shows signs of having been much studied and is copiously annotated by fourteenth-century and later readers.

BINDING

English fourteenth-century binding of whittawed deerskin over wooden boards; the leather originally protruded to form flaps over all the edges; two of these flaps are still substantially present, the others only fragmentarily so. A piece of leather sewn across the inside of the boards to hold the deerskin in place. A lower layer of leather (or vellum?) is pasted directly onto the covers. Two stubs, stained pink, survive of the clasps which fastened on the lower cover. The front pastedown is loose and the pattern of the thongs can be seen; there are six, arranged in pairs and drawn through three holes in the boards (cf. Pollard fig. 8). The lower board is split vertically and the leather is worn and torn in places, but the binding is nevertheless an extremely interesting and wholly unrestored example of English medieval monastic work.

LITERATURE

M. R. James. *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury: The Library*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1895.

M. R. James. *Bury St. Edmunds Manuscripts*, in *English Historical Review*, xli, 1926, pp. 251-260.

Graham Pollard. *The Construction of English Twelfth-Century Bindings*, in *The Library*, 5th ser., XVII, 1, March 1962, pp. 1-22.

[SEE PLATE II]

17 THE LIVES OF THE APOSTLES, IN ICELANDIC

[ICELAND, MIDDLE OF THE 14TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 94 loose leaves, stitched in the 19th century to thin strips of vellum and enclosed in pairs within double sheets of paper, loosely bound in Middle Hill boards (spine detached). One leaf missing after f. 63; otherwise complete. Double column. 37 or 38 lines. Largest leaf 416×274 mm.; $16\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.; other leaves smaller owing to the crumbling of margins. The text is very slightly damaged on a number of pages and more seriously on ff. 32, 53 and 91 to 94. Written in black ink, probably by two scribes using very similar upright gothic hands.

PROVENANCE

(1) Given to the church of Skarð in Iceland in 1401 by Ormur Snorrason, the owner of the great Skarð estate which has remained in the possession of a single family since c. 1100, and mentioned in the inventory of the possessions of the church written at the end of the manuscript (ff. 95–95b) soon after that date. Also mentioned in Bishop Vilchin's collection of inventories of churches in Skálholt district compiled in 1397.

(2) Remained at Skarð probably until the end of the 18th century. A tithe account for the district of Skarð for the years 1507 to 1523 is written at the top of f. 1 and a second inventory of Skarð church, dated 1533, is on the same page. Mentioned as being at Skarð by Jón Guðmondsson the Learned in 1644. The manuscript was seen at Skarð in 1710 by the famous Icelandic scholar Arni Magnússon, for whom a transcript was made by the priest and copyist Eyjólfur Björnsson. This transcript was the principal source for the text of the Lives of the Apostles published in *Postola Sögur*, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1874.

(3) At some time between 1783 and 1829 the manuscript was seen, perhaps when it was already in England, by Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin, the first editor of *Beowulf*, whose opinion as to its date ('about the end of the thirteenth century') is quoted in a note in English on f. 1.

(4) *Supplement to Thomas Thorpe's Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts*, 1836, No. 703.

(5) Phillipps MS. 10442 and 16504 (entered twice in the catalogue).

TEXT

The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 'were among the first foreign literature to win favour among the Icelanders, and their popularity persisted until the seventeenth century or later. Throughout the Middle Ages fresh redactions

and copies were frequently made' (G. Turville-Petre). The translations into Icelandic were based on the so-called *Apostolic History of Abdias* (see M. R. James) and other early medieval Latin works. Of all these collections Codex Scardensis is the most complete, giving a fuller version of many of the Lives than is preserved in any other manuscript. This extremely important manuscript has been reproduced in its entirety in the series *Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile*.

Medieval Icelandic manuscripts are, with scarcely any exceptions, concentrated in a few public libraries, chiefly the Royal Library, Copenhagen (which contains the great collection formed in Iceland between 1702 and 1712 by Arni Magnússon) and the University Library, Copenhagen. Sir Joseph Banks, who visited Iceland in 1772, presented a group of manuscripts to the British Museum and another group was acquired by Trinity College, Dublin, from the Rev. James Johnstone (d. 1798), Chaplain and Secretary to the British Legation in Copenhagen. There is no Icelandic medieval MS. in the U.S.A., and none in Iceland itself. This is the only one recorded in private ownership and the only one, so far as can be judged, ever likely to be available for purchase.

DECORATION

The manuscript is decorated with six historiated initials and numerous initials in colours, in which red and yellow predominate. The historiated initials enclose small full-length figures of the apostles whose stories begin at these points (St. Peter, f. 1*b*; St. Paul, f. 27*b*; St. John, f. 40; St. James, f. 47; St. Thomas, f. 82; St. Simon or St. Jude, f. 89). A number of other initials contain monsters or human faces. Some initials are of considerable size, with marginal prolongations nearly the whole length of the text.

LITERATURE

Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile, Vol. II. *Codex Scardensis*, ed. Desmond Slay, Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960.

G. Turville-Petre. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, Oxford, 1953.

M. R. James. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1926.

[SEE PLATE 12]

18 MOSES BEN JACOB OF COUCY. SĒPHER MISWŌTH
GĀDHŌL

[GERMANY, 14TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 196 ll., lacking perhaps about 30 ll., defective at the beginning and end and lacking some other leaves, including three in the second gathering. Of the 26 extant gatherings, all are of 8 ll. except the sixteenth which is of 4 ll. There are catchwords at the end of the gatherings. 37 lines. 3 or 4 columns. 403 × 290 mm.; 16 × 11½ in. The Biblical text and Targūm written in a large clear Ashkenazī hand, the exposition of Moses of Coucy and the commentary of Rashi written in a similar Rabbinic Franco-German hand, but the whole manuscript probably written by one scribe. Stains, mostly in the margins; ff. 116b–118b in a different hand and probably later than the remainder of the text; old repairs to some tears in the vellum; f. 187 torn and defective; the top margin cut away from the last seven leaves affecting the text. Modern brown morocco gilt.

PROVENANCE

(1) Judging from the script this manuscript was probably written in Germany. It was transferred at an early date to Italy where a fifteenth-century owner has added marginal notes in Hebrew in an Italian cursive hand.

(2) Abbé Joseph-Felix Allard (1795–1831), of Paris; purchased from him by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the late 1820s.

(3) Phillipps MS. 3736.

TEXT

This is a very rare type of Hebrew manuscript in which the holy text is subordinated to the commentary. It contains the portions of the Pentateuch on which the exposition is based, namely *Leviticus* XXV, 1–XXVI, 2; *Exodus* XXVIII, 20–XXX, 10; X, 1–XXVIII, 19, and XXX, 11 to end; *Leviticus* I, 1–XX, 27 and *Numbers* VIII, 1–XII, 26. The Hebrew text, which is vocalised and provided with accents, is accompanied by a form of the Masora Parva (or textual apparatus) and the Targūm (the Aramaic translation attributed to Onqelos). Besides the *Sēpher Miswōth Gādhōl*, the exposition of the legal portion of the Pentateuch by Moses of Coucy, there are also extracts from the commentary of Rashī (Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, 1040–1105). Each of the pārašhiyyoth (or passages of the Pentateuch) is followed by a reading from the Prophets (Haphtārōth).

Moses ben Jacob of Coucy studied in Paris under Judah ben Isaac, the French tosafist, and lectured in France and Spain in the first half of the 13th century. His *Sēpher Miswōth Gādhōl* ‘deals with the 365 prohibitions and the 248 commandments of the Mosaic Law, separately expounding each of them according to the Talmudic tradition and the decisions of the Rabbis . . . [It]

written with much clearness and is a rich source for the history of halakic literature, as it quotes numerous rabbinical authors and works of the past. It aroused much enthusiasm when it first became known and has always been held in high respect'. *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

The present manuscript is extremely carefully written in a fine hand and is an admirable example of Jewish medieval scholarship and calligraphy. The first word or words of each of the passages from the Pentateuch is written in large letters, often in red or green. There is some interesting penwork ornament on f. 169 and on f. 40b, and on f. 23 is a small pen-and-ink drawing of the Cherubim over the Ark of the Covenant. On several pages the first word of a passage has been outlined in red or purple, or placed on a yellow or green panel, or otherwise decoratively treated (ff. 28, 29, 39, 44, 70, 72b, 150b, 157b, 165b and 173).

[SEE PLATE 13]

PARIS, 12 JANUARY 1375

On vellum. 31 ll. Double column. 32 lines. 205 × 150 mm.; 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Written by a single scribe (probably the author of the treatise) in black and brown ink in a gothic book hand. Initials and five-line musical staves in red. The outer margin of the first leaf and all upper margins trimmed to the text, and a few leaves stained at beginning and end, but in very sound condition. Nineteenth-century half roan, with yellow boards.

PROVENANCE

Phillipps MS. 4450, acquired from an unknown source (*Ex Bibl. Incertis*).

COLOPHON

A colophon on p. 50 gives the place and date of the treatise's completion: *et per haec sit finis huius libri compilati parisiis Anno a nativitate dni M^occc^o Septuagesimo quinto die duodecimo mensis Januarii.*

TEXT

Wrongly described in the Phillipps Catalogue as a work of Guido da Arezzo, we believe this to be the autograph manuscript of a hitherto unknown treatise by a Parisian music-master and composer. The treatise is not amongst those published by Coussemaker, and it cannot be identified with any of those listed by W. Apel.

Apel mentions a number of treatises written in the first half of the 14th century and *c.* 1350, the most important of which is the *Ars Nova* of Philippe de Vitry. But at this point there is a hiatus and the next recorded musical treatise of French origin is the *Tractatus* of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis of *c.* 1408 (Coussemaker, III, 200). This gap is filled by the treatise in the present manuscript. Only a very thorough study of the treatise and of the two secular songs in French which it contains can lead to definite conclusions as to the identity of its author. But it is clear from his references to his 'scholars' and to the remarks about singing in his first paragraph that he was himself a teacher of singing. No doubt Paris had many music-masters in the year 1375. One name which has survived is that of a certain 'maistre Jehan Vaillant le quel tenoit a Paris escolle de musique', who is mentioned in a list of the poets who followed Guillaume de Machaut given in an early fifteenth-century treatise, *Les règles de la seconde rhétorique* (E. Langlois ed., *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902). A rondeau and a virelai by Vaillant are published in W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the late 14th Century*, which is an attempt to compile a complete corpus of the known music of the time. But neither of the French songs in the present manuscript is mentioned in this work. The Phillipps manuscript appears, therefore, to be an important addition to our scanty sources for the history of music in France in the late 14th century.

The reasons for thinking that this may be an autograph manuscript are: (1) the treatise has neither title, incipit nor explicit; (2) the colophon in which the author gives the date of his work is placed (p. 50) not at the end of the manuscript but at the end of the first part of the treatise, suggesting that the second part may be an afterthought. Had the work been revised for publication, the colophon would probably have been moved to the end of the second part; (3) the two songs are added on blank leaves, without title or comment, by the scribe of the treatise.

The author sets out his purpose in the first sentence of the treatise: to discuss the 'whole practice' of motets, ballades, rondeaux, virelais and ecclesiastical singing. The first part is divided into three sections: (1) *de tonis*, p. 1; (2) *de contrapunctu*, p. 26; (3) *de cognicione notularum*, p. 37. The third section ends with the dated colophon already quoted (p. 50). The author then announces his intention of going on to instruction of a more advanced kind, saying that whereas hitherto he has fed his 'scholars' on milk he will now give them solid nourishment. The second part of the treatise, after a brief passage on *toni divisio* (p. 51), consists of a long discussion of harmony, illustrated by pen sketches of various musical instruments as the author supposes them to have been used by the ancients.

The third section of Part I is illustrated by five pages of musical notation with examples of *verbula temporis perfecti maioris prolacionis . . . minoris prolacionis . . . temporis imperfecti maioris prolacionis . . . minoris prolacionis*. This is followed (p. 36) by a song for tenor and countertenor of which the words are:

Souïengne vous destriuer uostre amant
ma douce amour qui mon cuer poure estrïue.
Vous ay donne des que fustes endine
a moy nommer uostre ami et seruant.

On the last page of the manuscript (p. 62) is another song, on a five-line stave arranged in two concentric circles (and so recalling a gramophone record), intended to be sung as a fugue ('alter alterum fugando'). This is in two stanzas of seven lines, of which the first begins:

En la maison Dedalus enfermee est ma dame
Vers qui ne puis aler.

LITERATURE

Coussemaker. *Scriptores de musica medii aevi*, 1864-78.

W. Apel. *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 4th ed., 1949.

W. Apel. *French Secular Music of the late 14th Century*, Medieval Academy of America, 1950.

[SEE PLATE 14]

[FLORENCE], 27 MAY 1384

On vellum. 87 ll. Gatherings of 8 leaves (the last of 7), with catchwords; one leaf wanting after f. 54. otherwise complete. Double column. 45 lines. 325×228 mm.; $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ in. Written in black ink by a single scribe in a rounded gothic hand. Headings in red. A fine large initial on f. 57 in red and blue with red and purple penwork ornament and penwork flourishes extending the whole height of the page; smaller initials in red with purple penwork or blue with red penwork. Marginal worming of the first and last leaves but otherwise in good condition and with wide margins. Contemporary reddish-brown goatskin over wooden boards; spine repaired; four clasps and catches and seven bosses on each cover lacking.

PROVENANCE

- (1) The pastedown inside the upper cover is entirely covered by a painted shield of arms: *chequy, argent and gules* (17th century?), perhaps Barbadoro of Florence.
- (2) An eighteenth-century Italian owner has written a long description of the manuscript on a loosely inserted double sheet of paper.
- (3) Phillipps MS. 12304 (bought from the bookseller Payne in 1848).

COLOPHON

The colophon, recording the completion of the manuscript in 1384, comes at the end of the *Mirror of the Cross: Compiuto e lo specchio della croce a di xxvii di maggio anni domini Mccclxxxiiii*.

TEXT

Folio 2. Incominciassi lo specchio della croce. prolago. Narra il santo evangelio . . ., followed by a table of the titles of the fifty chapters. The text begins: *Dopo lo peccato de primi parenti*, and ends, . . . *ogni nostra macula la quale per suo essempla dobbiamo mondare*.

The *Specchio della Croce*, or mirror of Christian virtues, was printed at least fourteen times in the 15th century, sometimes as an anonymous work, sometimes with the now generally accepted attribution to Domenico Cavalca, a monk of the Dominican monastery of Santa Caterina in Pisa, who is believed to have died in 1342. Cavalca was the author of a number of works of popular devotion, written in the vernacular which was still only rarely used by prose-writers in his day (Sapegno, pp. 549–554). The eighteenth-century literary historian Pietro Giordani (quoted by Sapegno, p. 551) considered that he was ‘the first and best prose-writer of the Italian language’, and the freshness

of style and simplicity of emotion which endeared him to his own and the following century still give his work a very considerable charm.

Folio 54b. Lists of the articles of the Catholic Faith, the articles of divinity, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the sacraments, the commandments, the principal virtues and the works of mercy (imperfect).

Folio 55. A letter of St. Bernard, imperfect at the beginning; it ends, *et hodi de figliuoli morto il padre incontanente ciercano di dividersi Se sono gentili meglio e le piu volte.*

Folio 55b. *Questa e una amunitione come reverentemente deve stare huomo all mesa.*

Folio 57. *Questa e la leggienda del beato messer santo giovanni batista*, beginning *Al nome di dio e della gloriosa vergine*, and ending, . . . *sicche spesso naveano novelle lequali tutte si concordavano colle loro profetie. Qui finisce la meditatione del limbo.* This is followed by a sermon of St. Bernard, *dove si tratta della morte di sancto Johanni*, beginning *Quella nostra madre di tutte le chiese cioe la santa chiesa Romana.*

The anonymous *Life of St. John the Baptist* which occupies the second half of the manuscript was one of the most popular of the many legends of saints composed in the vernacular in the 14th century (Sapegno, p. 544). It was printed at Modena in 1491 (Reichling 1547), and included in the comprehensive collection of lives of saints edited by D. M. Manni. Manni based his text on two manuscripts then in private hands in Florence, neither of which appears to be identical with the present one.

The image of the five-year-old St. John stepping out into the wilderness ('and as soon as the blessed child entered into the desert there came to him an odour of solitude, how pleasing it was to God') captured the imagination of several generations of Italian artists and the popular treatment of the theme in the present manuscript belongs to the same iconographical tradition as Giovanni di Paolo's well-known painting in Chicago (reproduced in J. Pope-Hennessy, *Giovanni di Paolo*, 1937, pl. XXI).

DECORATION

The manuscript is decorated with three drawings in watercolour in a free and popular style and two fine illuminated initials.

Before the first gathering is a separate leaf, contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, which has on the recto a drawing of the Cross and the Instruments of the Passion and on the verso a coloured drawing of the young St. John (full-page but with wide margins) climbing through a wilderness towards a forest. There is a similarly coloured small drawing of St. John as an elderly man in a blank space on the page which precedes the beginning of his Life (f. 56b).

The two illuminated initials, with white linear patterns on a black ground in the interior of the letter, are prolonged the whole height of the margin by foliate sprays (ff. 2, 3*b*).

LITERATURE

N. Sapegno. *Il Trecento*, Milan 1934.

D. M. Manni. *Vite di alcuni santi scritte nel buono seculo della lingua toscana*, Florence 1734.

[SEE PLATE 15]

On vellum. 142 ll. (of 146, a leaf missing and replaced with a paper blank after ff. 30, 93, 117 and 138), plus the first leaf blank and unnumbered. 49 lines. 355 × 255 mm.; 14 × 10 in. Written in brown ink in a well-formed gothic cursive hand, with many contractions. Initials and paragraph marks in red. With wide margins, showing many of the pinholes. English eighteenth-century calf, panelled in gilt and blind, worn, hinges cracked, yellow edges.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich from 1501 until his death at an advanced age in 1535. He is known as a staunch opponent of Henry VIII's ecclesiastical policies. His ownership inscription, dated 1512, is on the last page. An erased inscription above this note seems to refer to the binding of the manuscript.
(2) Phillipps MS. 1109, bought from the bookseller James Taylor in 1826.

TEXT

Folio 1. Table of contents, giving the title of every chapter.

Folio 3. *De urinis*, beginning *Urina est colamentum sanguinis* (Thorndike and Kibre, 1608, recording five works with this incipit).

Folio 5. *Liber Ypocratis de aquis*, in French, beginning *Checun corps de homme*.

Folio 8. *Liber Galieni de sinchomatibus mulierum*, in French, beginning *Dieux nostre sire quant out le monde estoree*.

Folio 12. *Practica Magistri Rogeri de Baronio de arte medicine*, beginning *Sicut ab antiquis*, consisting of a prologue and 105 chapters, the first *de dolore capitis*, the last *de paralisi* (Thorndike and Kibre 1479, citing several MSS and editions printed in Venice in 1498 and 1499).

Folio 40. *Ars flebotomandi per venas*, 92 lines of rhyming couplets in French, beginning *Beauz douce mestres qui les gentz seignes et late blod et qi de mester vivetz*, with a colophon attributing 'ceste tretys de seigner' to 'Mestre Bernard de bona hora', who, according to E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des medecins en France au moyen age*, 1936, became a master in medicine of the University of Montpellier in 1313. He is not however known as the author of any works in prose or verse. The verses are followed by miscellaneous instructions for bleeding in Latin and a full-page diagram of a human body showing the positions of the veins.

Folio 42. *Practica Magistri Rogeri de Baronio*, in 37 chapters, the first *de febribus*, the last *de sincopi propter aborsum*.

Folio 48. *Parva summa Magistri Rogeri de exhibicione medicinarum laxativarum*, in

18 chapters, the first *de arte medicine*, the last *de pessariis*; beginning *Cum medicinalis artis* (Thorndike and Kibre 284 and 317).

Folio 55b. *Summa Platearii qui dicitur Circa instans et est de gradibus et virtutibus herbarum*, in 55 chapters arranged alphabetically, beginning *Circa instans negotium* (Thorndike and Kibre 211, citing editions printed in Venice in 1497, Lyons in 1525 and Venice in 1530).

Folio 91b. *Summa magistri Platearii que dicitur Amicum induit*, in 66 chapters, beginning *Effimera est febris illa* (Thorndike and Kibre 484; printed at Venice in 1530).

Folio 116. *Antidotarius Nicholai*, in 140 chapters, arranged alphabetically, followed by an alphabetical list of synonyms of the herbs and flowers mentioned in the treatise; begins *Ego Nicholaus rogatus a quibusdam* (Thorndike and Kibre 490, printed in Venice in 1484).

Folio 140. *Summa que docet quid pro quo* (a list of alternatives to unobtainable medicines), beginning *Multis medicorum contingit* (not in Thorndike and Kibre).

Folio 141. *De electuariis diversis*, *Que medicine quos purgant humores* and other lists of remedies for various ailments.

The main elements of this important collection are derived either from the medical school of Montpellier (the three works at ff. 12, 42 and 48 form part of the *Rogerina*, written in the last third of the 13th century, perhaps by a chancellor of the university) or from the earlier and more famous school of Salerno (the two works of Johannes Platearius at ff. 55b and 91b, and the *Antidotarius Nicholai* at f. 116). Thorndike and Kibre record no MS. of any of these works in the U.S.A. Particular interest attaches to the two treatises on the medicinal properties of herbs. The French verses on bleeding at f. 40 are not recorded by A. Långfors, *Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1917, and may be unrecorded. The manuscript is unusually comprehensive, covering all aspects of contemporary medical science; it was also compiled with much greater care than the average medical manuscript of the time, as the detailed table of contents and the careful and regular handwriting show.

DECORATION

The treatise on bleeding is illustrated (f. 41b) with a full-page pen drawing of a naked man, with red lines radiating from the veins in his body to red and yellow roundels containing a brief description of each vein.

REFERENCE

Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre. *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin*, revised edition, 1963.

[SEE PLATE 16]

22 FRANCESCO PETRARCA. CANZONIERE AND TRIONFI

[FLORENCE, WRITTEN BY BESE ARDINGHELLI, SECOND QUARTER OF THE
15TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 169 ll. Gatherings mostly of 8 or 10 leaves, with catchwords. 30 to 33 lines. 245 × 168 mm.; 9½ × 6⅔ in. Written in dark brown ink in two elegant and distinctive semi-humanistic hands, the second beginning on f. 50. Headings and numbers in red. Initials to the poems alternately in red with purple penwork and blue with red penwork. Initial letters of every line touched with yellow. Fine vellum, with a few stains and natural imperfections; wide lower and outer margins. The ink used by the second hand somewhat faded on a few pages, but on the whole in fine condition. Eighteenth-century red velvet, g.e., marbled endpapers, green silk marker.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Charles James Fox, the Whig statesman (1749–1806), with his armorial bookplate.
- (2) Phillipps MS. 2963 (bought from the bookseller Thomas Thorpe in the 1820s).

SCRIBE

The scribe of the second part (also of the table of first lines on ff. 1–7) can be identified as Bese Ardinghelli, whom D'Ancona (I, 65) calls 'one of the best scribes in Florence'. Three other manuscripts written by him are recorded:

Florence, Laurenziana, Strozzi 174. Petrarch, *Trionfi*, written in 1427 (dated by mistake in the MS. '1327').

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. II, I, 249. Villani, *Cronaca*, written in 1432 for Piero di Jacopo Ubaldino Ardinghelli.

Florence, Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 72. Dante, *La Divina Commedia*, written in 1442.

As will be noticed, he seems to have specialised in popular Italian texts. He was a member of a family of some importance which commissioned a Missal for Santa Trinità in Florence in 1435 (Mirella Levi D'Ancona, p. 197).

TEXT

Folio 1. Table of first lines, in alphabetical order.

Folio 8. The *Canzoniere*, sonnets and songs here numbered 1 to ccclxvii, with a colophon: *Qui finiscono tucte le canzone e Sonetti di mesere francesco petrarcha Poeta fiorentino.* The ten-line ballad known as *Donna* (see Wilkins, 1948) is here no. 367, and is preceded by no. 244 of the standard order (*Il mal mi preme*). The order of the so-called *ultime rime* (the last 30 poems) appears to be unlike that in any of the 96 manuscripts analysed by Wilkins. The present

manuscript has Wilkins's 'Malatesta' characteristics *a* and *b*, but not *c*, *d* or *e*. The Malatesta characteristics are found in a number of manuscripts, mostly of early date, and originated in the version of the *Canzoniere* of which the poet sent a copy to Pandolfo Malatesta in 1373. The manuscript sent to Malatesta is lost but what is believed to be an accurate copy exists in Florence (Laurenziana XLI. 17). The Malatesta recension is intermediate between the earliest version of the poems (numbering only 215) released for publication between 1356 and 1358 and the latest version (of which the partly autograph manuscript is in the Vatican, lat. 3195) dating from the last year of the poet's life. For a full discussion of the relationship of the various versions of the *Canzoniere* and an enumeration and clarification of all known manuscripts (but not, however, the present manuscript), see Wilkins, 1951.

Folio 136. The *Trionfi*, with the title *Incominciano i triumphi di messere francesco petrarcha P. fiorentino*, in the order: Death II, Fame I (the earlier version, see F. Petrarca, *Letteratura italiana storia e testi*, vol. 6, 1951, p. 564), Love II, I, III and IV, Chastity, Death I, Fame I (the later version), II and III (with a last line *Qui lascio e piu di lor non dico avante* not printed *op cit.*), Time, Eternity. The text is followed by a colophon: *Explicit deo gratias. Qui scripxit scribat semper cum domino vivat, vivat in celis Semper cum domino felix.*

DECORATION

The first page of the *Canzoniere* (f. 8) is decorated with a handsome illuminated initial enclosing a plant with three flowers on a ground of rich blue. The initial rests on a gold ground and is prolonged into the upper and inner margins by volutes and gold and hairline sprays. The lower margin has similar decoration on either side of a pear-shaped panel enclosing a shield of arms (erased) on a gold ground. The first page of the *Trionfi* (f. 136) has a small illuminated initial in similar style.

LITERATURE

Paolo D'Ancona. *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, Florence 1914.

Mirella Levi D'Ancona. *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze*, Florence 1962.

E. H. Wilkins. *On the Manuscripts of the Canzoniere of Petrarch*, in *Speculum*, xxiii, 1948, pp. 433-451.

E. H. Wilkins. *The Making of the Canzoniere and other Petrarchan Studies*, Rome 1951.

[SEE PLATE 17]

[SPAIN, PROBABLY BARCELONA, C. 1400]

On vellum. 116 ll. (the contemporary foliation i to cxiii includes the two original blank leaves after f. 97 but not the two leaves with the table of contents at the beginning), plus two vellum and seven old paper fly-leaves. Gatherings of 8 leaves, with catchwords on the last leaf of each gathering and also, in a small cursive hand, on many other leaves: f. 40 lacking and replaced by a blank vellum leaf, otherwise complete. Double column. 40 lines. 368 × 268 mm.; 14½ × 10½ in. Written in brown ink in a large and regular gothic book hand, with a number of contemporary erasures and corrections in the text. Headings in red (including large portions of the text of ff. 73b–77b). About 140 large initials in red with blue penwork or blue with red penwork at the beginning of each chapter, with red and blue penwork flourishes extending the whole length of the page. A small hole in ff. 3 and 4 and the margins of f. 3b strengthened with paper; the margin of f. 63 torn; the illuminated border on f. 4 slightly cut into at the top; some leaves stained and worn, but with wide margins and in sound condition. Nineteenth-century red russia gilt.

PROVENANCE

(1) At the foot of the first page of text are two coats-of-arms: on the left the arms of Aragon (*or, four pallets gules*), on the right an unidentified shield (*azure, in the first quarter a cross patty argent*). The crowned arms of Aragon are painted in the upper margin of f. 82. The manuscript was almost certainly executed during the reign of Martin the Old (r. 1395–1410), the last King of Aragon of the Catalan branch.

(2) The convent of San Miguel de los Reyes, Valencia, to which it almost certainly came with the books of Ferrante, Duke of Calabria (1488–1550), son of the last Aragonese King of Naples. The Duke of Calabria was appointed Viceroy of Valencia by Charles V; he reconstructed the Convent of San Miguel and left it his valuable library (including some of the royal books from Naples) and all his other possessions. An ownership inscription at the foot of the first leaf of text has been erased but an eighteenth-century inscription by a certain Geronimo Gavea on a flyleaf records that the volume comes from San Miguel and was 'lent' to him by Father Parga of the Jeronimite Order.

(3) We are inclined to believe (owing to the striking similarity between the heading on f. 3 and the title recorded by Antonio Palomares) that this is the MS. which belonged in 1760 to the Marqués de Almodóvar, who had bought it in Saragossa (Palau, XII, 481).

(4) From a group of MSS. from the collections of Juan de Iriarte (1702–71), Carlos Antonio de Laserna de Santander (1752–1813) and the Marqués de

Astorga which were bought by Thorpe c. 1826; most of them were sold by auction by Evans on 2 March 1826.

(3) Phillipps MS. 2633, purchased from Thorpe.

TEXT

Peter IV of Aragon (Peter III of Catalonia) was the most capable of the medieval kings of Aragon. During his long reign (1336–1387) he recaptured the Balearic Islands and sternly controlled the anarchic nobles of his kingdom. His interest in ritual and etiquette earned him the title of ‘the Ceremonious’, a side of his character which is seen in the present compilation.

The contents are as follows

Folio 1. Table of contents, in the original hand, on two unnumbered leaves.

Folio 3. *Ordinacions fetes por lo senyor en p. terç rey darago sobre lo regiment de tots los officials de la sua cort.* Regulations for the household and chapel royal, with a preamble in the name of the king dated (f. 4) Barcelona, 17 November 1344.

The principal categories of officers whose activities are prescribed are the catering establishment (majordomos, butlers, bakers, etc., ff. 4–22), the officers of the king’s chamber (squires, doctors and other personal attendants, ff. 22b–37b), the legal officials (alguacils, scribes, notaries, judges, etc., ff. 37b–49), the ecclesiastics (confessor, abbot and monks, school of the chapel royal, etc., ff. 49–54b), the ‘maestre racional’ (the king’s financial secretary) and his subordinate officials (ff. 54b–69), the king’s counsellors and commissaries (ff. 69–73b). There follow instructions for writing letters to persons of various categories and for sealing letters (ff. 73b–82) and directions for the services in the chapel royal throughout the year and for the dispensation of alms (ff. 82–96). The text ends with a declaration in the king’s name *sobre totes les dites ordinacions* (ff. 96b–97b).

Folios 98–99. Blank.

Folio 100. *Ordinacio feta per lo molt alt e excellent princep e senyor lo senyor en pere terz rey daragon de la manera con [que] los reyes darago se faran congregar e ells maceys se coronaran.* The order of coronation of a King of Aragon, dated (f. 101b) Valencia, 20 January 1353, followed by similar instructions for the consecration and coronation of a Queen of Aragon.

The library of the kings of Aragon in Naples possessed four manuscripts of these interesting instructions for the organisation of a medieval court, compiled by a monarch of exceptional ability and energy: three of them are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and one in the Reichsarchiv, Vienna (T. de Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d’Aragona*, ii, 117; one manuscript is in Italian). From the dates in the present manuscript it is clear that the ordinations were promulgated by Peter IV in 1344 and 1353. The manuscripts recorded by

de Marinis are all of the fifteenth century and none is as handsomely decorated as the present manuscript; no manuscript of the text is recorded in the U.S.A. in De Ricci's *Census*, and the only illuminated MS. of the text in Spain is an imperfect one in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS. 5986).

The text was first printed in the *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragon* in 1850, although it has been translated into Castilian as early as 1562.

DECORATION

The illumination consists of seven historiated initials and four decorated initials. The first page of text has a full illuminated border; the other pages with historiated or decorated initials have partial illuminated borders of leaf-ornament.

The historiated initials are:

Folio 3. King Peter enthroned, dictating to a scribe and flanked by officials of the court; elaborate illuminated border of interlaced and foliate ornament; three quadrilobe compartments contain standing figures of musicians; an owl, two peacocks, a cock, a duck, a guineafowl, a parrot and sixteen other birds, as well as two squirrels and a rabbit are perched on the border. The page has suffered wear but is still handsome and impressive.

Folio 4. The king hands a staff of office to a kneeling servant.

Folio 22b. Three servants kneel to offer golden goblets to the king.

Folio 37b. The king enthroned with five servants, one holding an open book.

Folio 54b. The *maestre racional* doing his accounts at a table with two subordinates.

Folio 100. The coronation service; a bishop crowns the king in front of a congregation of laymen and ecclesiastics.

Folio 112. The coronation of a queen, the king placing the crown on her head; judges may be noted in the congregation.

The decorated initials are on ff. 61b, 64, 69 and 82.

This illumination is in bright, gay colours; checkered grounds, with a repeating pattern of quadrilobes, are used in several initials; the faces are firmly modelled with a marked greenish tint to the flesh. The style is the eclectic one characteristic of Catalonia at this period and including strong Sieneese and Bolognese elements; how open to foreign borrowings it was can be seen on f. 82 where the initial and bar-border consist of ivy-leaf ornament incorporating a dragon and a half-length figure of a shield-bearer, directly copied from some French exemplar of the fourteenth century. The present MS. can be compared with two well-known Catalan MSS.: the 'Libro verde' of Privileges of Barcelona in the Archivo Municipal, Barcelona, executed in the last years of the fourteenth century (Bordona, II, pl. 104 a and c) and a copy of Ximénez's

Libro del Crestiá executed for a knight of Barcelona, Ramón Cavall, before 1417, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (Bordona, II, pl. 137).

Examples of the Italo-Catalan school are extremely rare outside Spain; the only one that has been sold at auction to our knowledge in recent years was a Book of Hours sold in these rooms on 2 February 1960, lot 308, now in the National Museum, Stockholm. There was no example of the school in the exhibitions at Baltimore (1949) or Harvard (1955) or in the exhibition of the late Mr. William S. Glazier's manuscripts at the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1959.

LITERATURE

Palau. *Manuel del Libro Hispano-Americano*, 1959, XII, 481.

Cf. J. Dominguez Bordona. *Spanish Illumination*, 1930.

[SEE PLATE 18]

24 WILLIAM THORNE. CHRONICLE OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, CANTERBURY
[CANTERBURY, ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, FIRST QUARTER OF THE 15TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 194 ll. (the existing pagination is faulty) plus an inserted half-leaf and two vellum and four seventeenth-century paper fly-leaves. The first fifteen gatherings of ten leaves, with some catchwords; the later gatherings irregular. Apparently complete (Twysden wrongly supposed that a gathering was missing before p. 278). 40 to 45 lines. 268 × 196 mm.; 10½ × 7¾ in. Written in brown ink, the first 148 leaves in a gothic book hand, the later leaves in a variety of cursive hands. Headings and initials in red. Somewhat stained and worn and showing signs of much use, but in quite sound condition. Bound for Sir Roger Twysden in 1629 for the sum of 3s. 6d. (with his note on a flyleaf); calf, line borders in gilt and blind, gilt lozenge-shaped centre ornament with a fleuron at each corner, flat spine.

PROVENANCE

(1) This is one of two surviving manuscripts of the Chronicle, both no doubt copied in St. Augustine's Abbey (of which the author was a member) in the late 14th or early years of the 15th century. This famous Abbey, founded by St. Augustine during his mission to Kent, was suppressed in 1538.

(2) The well-known antiquary Sir Roger Twysden (one of the 'two wise Kentish knights' whose 'counsel never was thought good Because they were not understood'); bought for 25s. on 15 October 1629 from Laurence Sadler and used for his edition of the Chronicle in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*, 1652. There are notes in his hand in the margins of the text and on the fly-leaves at the beginning and end of the volume.

(3) Sir John Sebright, 7th Baronet; his sale in our rooms 11 April 1807, lot 1195; bought by Weber for 12s.

(4) Phillipps MS. 3138 (bought in 1836).

TEXT

The only other manuscript of the Chronicle is Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS. 189 (ending twelve years earlier than the present manuscript, in 1385). One of the two is possibly the manuscript which Leland saw and started to read on his visit to St. Augustine's (M. R. James, p. lxxviii). (The other MS. mentioned in the *DNB* article on Thorne, British Museum Tib. A. ix contains in fact not Thorne's but Sprot's Chronicle, as does also the MS. mentioned by James, p. 518, no. 925; the latter seems to have belonged to Thorne.)

The Latin text of Thorne's Chronicle has been printed only once from the present manuscript (then in his possession) in Twysden's *Scriptores Decem* of 1652, but a complete translation based on Twysden's text was published in 1934 by A. H. Davis. After a short preface (p. 1), in which he gives his name

and the plan and purpose of his work, the author proceeds with an account of the mission of St. Augustine to England and his founding of the abbey in 598. Until the year 1228 (according to the statement on p. 132 of the present manuscript) he draws his material from the earlier chronicler of St. Augustine's, Thomas Sprot. His sources for the next hundred years are not indicated. For the final half-century (nearly a third of the work) he is doubtless drawing on his own experience and hearsay. The date when he was received into the community is unknown, but already in 1375 he was a candidate for the position of Abbot. The next two years, as he relates, he spent in Italy, endeavouring to obtain from the Pope a confirmation of the election of his successful rival, William Welde. The chronicle ends in 1397.

The chronicle, which incorporates the text of many letters and documents of Thorne's own and earlier times, is a work of considerable historical importance. Some of the stories which Thorne has to tell give scope also for his keen sense of irony ('almost worthy of Tacitus', according to his translator). Sir Roger Twysden conveys his appreciation of the work in some verses on a fly-leaf of the present manuscript:

Now thank thee Thorne, for by thy work I see
 Rome full of Maximilian policy;
 For, whilst the Archbishops and Augustin friers
 She lets at strife, she gets what she desires
 The English gold; And which side gives most store
 She makes her Bulls for that side loudest roare.
 Then judge by Thorne, what men Popes were of old
 For God they tax'd not, but they wax'd Eipt Gold.

alter

Thorn pricks unto thee quick the Popes of old;
 Servants of God in style: In truth, of Gold.

LITERATURE

Sir Roger Twysden. *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*, 1652.

A. H. Davis. *William Thorne's Chronicle*, Oxford 1934.

M. R. James. *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge 1903.

On vellum. 227 ll. Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves (the first and second of 7, the last of 6), without catchwords; lacking the first leaf, otherwise complete. Double column. 37 to 43 lines. 408 × 308 mm.; 16 × 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink by a very skilled scribe in a large and handsome slightly sloping lettre bâtarde (the first two gatherings in darker ink and written with a finer pen, but apparently by the same scribe; the word 'au' is repeated at the beginning of the third gathering, but the text does not appear to be defective here). Many letters at the top and bottom of the pages flourished with bold ascending and descending strokes terminating in hair-line penwork. Chapter headings in red. The initial to each chapter in gold with blue penwork or blue with red penwork. The first few leaves very slightly creased and rubbed and small holes due to corrosion in a few leaves elsewhere, but IN MAGNIFICENT CONDITION, with very wide margins. French eighteenth-century red morocco gilt, edges gilt and marbled.

PROVENANCE

Purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the 1820's from Thorpe; Phillipps MS. 2924. The earlier history of the manuscript is unknown.

SCRIBE

Written by the distinguished scribe Raoul Tainguy who has signed the colophon in red letters beneath the last column of the text:

'Ci fine la tierce decade
De titus livius memorable
Acomplie a haub[er]tvilliez
Par tainguy qui nest pas giveliez ('no flies on Tainguy')
R Tainguy m.'

Tainguy was a professional scribe of great distinction ('It is one of the most beautiful hands possible to see'. Bradley), who signed six other manuscripts: Paris, Bibl. Nationale, fr. 264–266, Bersuire's translation of Livy, in three volumes.

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, fr. 840, Poems of Eustache Deschamps.

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, fr. 1999, Jean de Vignay's translation of J. de Cessolis's *Livre des Echecs moralisé*.

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, fr. 6474 and 6475, Froissart's Chronicles, Books I–III. Leyden University, Vossius 9, Froissart's Chronicles, Book I.

Torino, Bibl. Nazionale, French translation of Vegetius.

He no doubt worked for the Paris booksellers, but manuscripts written by him belonged to Jean, duc de Berry, the greatest collector of the age (the three-volume *Livy*, B.N. fr. 264–6, and an unsigned Valerius Maximus men-

tioned by Bradley). None of his manuscripts is dated, but the one of Deschamps's Poems was probably completed in 1413. He seems to have taken his work to the country on occasions. The Deschamps MS. was written at Jagny (Seine-et-Oise). Aubervilliers, where the present manuscript was written, is one mile outside the old city walls of Paris.

TEXT

Pierre Bersuire (c. 1290–1362), Prior of St. Eloi in Paris, produced his translation of Livy by order of King John of France. It was one of the first translations into French of any classical author and enjoyed immediate popularity. Many manuscripts were handsomely illuminated, including four in the library of Jean, duc de Berry. The first edition was printed in Paris in 1486–7 (HC 10143).

The part of the work known as the third decade, which is found in the present manuscript, is in fact Livy Books XXXI–XXXIX (Bersuire did not know that the second decade, Books XI–XX, was lost).

DECORATION

The first page, which would probably have had a large miniature, is lacking, and the existing decoration consists of eight miniatures of single column width, measuring about 68 mm. by 95 mm. They are in outstandingly fine and fresh condition, and appear not to have faded or suffered in any way since they were painted. The subjects are:

Folio 25. Book II. Six consuls and praetors stand talking in a vaulted chamber.

Folio 44b. Book III. Porcius Cato seated on a throne, with women pleading before him.

Folio 72b. Book IV. The Roman army marching through a landscape, with prisoners, cattle and other booty; Scipio rides in their midst; in the background the sun rises from behind a hill.

Folio 96b. Book V. A sacrifice; an ox and two sheep lie slaughtered beside an altar in a vaulted chamber; the priests and consuls stand on either side.

Folio 116. Book VI. Two Italian ambassadors plead for peace before three Romans seated on a bench, in a pillared chamber.

Folio 141b. Book VII. Amynander rides into his capital in triumph, in a chariot drawn by two horses.

Folio 174. Book VIII. A consul rides out of Rome at the head of an army, bound for Liguria.

Folio 201b. Book IX. *Comment les Rommains sortirent de leurs provinces Et comment ilz sacrifient a leurs dieux.* A procession emerges from a walled town and makes its way through a wooded landscape. All are on foot except for a man,

woman and child who appear to derive from a picture of the Flight into Egypt.

The eight pages with miniatures are also decorated with large illuminated initials and partial illuminated borders of flowers and foliage.

The miniatures – of the finest quality – are by the Maître de Boucicaut. Bersuire's translation of Livy was one of the texts in which the highly talented group of Parisian illuminators working *c.* 1405–1430 specialised. The group centred on the Boucicaut Master and the Bedford Master, and included for the earlier part of the period the Rohan Master (Porcher). A very fine *Livy* decorated by the Boucicaut Master is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fr. 259); another, with illumination by the Bedford Master, is at Harvard.

LITERATURE

J. W. Bradley. *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, III, p. 282.

S. Luce. *Oeuvres complètes de E. Deschamps*, Soc. des anciens textes français, ii, 1880.

J. Camus. *Notice d'une traduction française de Végèce*, in *Romania*, XXV, 1896, p. 393.

Jean Porcher. *French Miniatures*, 1960, p. 67.

Harvard College Library. Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts, 1955, pls. 50–51.

[SEE COLOUR PLATE D AND PLATES 19 AND 20]

On paper. 231 ll. (nearly half of the last leaf is missing). Gatherings mostly of 12 leaves (the first two of 8); wanting perhaps a whole gathering at the beginning and probably a single leaf in the ninth gathering. 20 to 22 lines. 193 × 130 mm.; 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink by a single scribe in a cursive lettre bâtarde. Initials and paragraphs marks in red. Initial words of books and sections in large gothic letters, sometimes touched with yellow. A few penwork drawings of human and monstrous heads attached to initials or in the margins. Margins of some leaves stained. French early nineteenth-century purple boards, title gilt on spine, yellow edges, with fragments of two vellum deeds used as pastedowns (one dated 1426, the other also fifteenth-century, both relating to Valence, one in the name of the Comte de Valentinois); in a half morocco box.

PROVENANCE

(1) An early owner has written a long note in French on the last leaf, part of which is torn away, recording that on the 14th day of . . . 1467 he purchased the book for 12s. 12d. Another early owner has written his name 'Delorme' on the verso of the same leaf.

(2) Phillipps MS. 2849 (bought in Paris in the 1820's).

SCRIBE

The scribe gives his name, Jehan Engremer, in some doggerel verse on f. 228: *Si Je ponatur et han sibi associetur / Et en Jungatur et gremer sic vocitatur / Scriptor huius libri . . .* He appears to be otherwise unknown.

WATERMARK

A helmet, Briquet 2901, whose use is recorded at Lorris in 1450.

TEXT

The *Roman de Mandevie* or *Les Mélancolies sur les conditions de ce monde*, an allegorical romance in prose (with a long section in verse in Book II and other short passages of verse), is an unpublished prose romance. Nothing is known of the author except what he says of himself in this sole surviving work: that he was born in 1302, that the vision of the romance took place in 1336 and was completed in 1340. The romance describes the meeting of the author with the knight Mandevie, constable of the Chastel du Dieu d'Amours, who guides him through various strange regions where he sees all sorts and conditions of men. These he describes with a wealth of moral and satirical reflections, sometimes (as in his account of 'les males dames' in Book IV) in a Rabelaisian vein. *Folio 4b*. Book I describes the circumstances of the vision and the start of the

O Mon de
Ditu Amen Quam te fur
E uderunt su la noble fiamt

Assoubz l'arbit St vit fionon d'mos
et fionon l'ore me fionon fionon l'ore
de ma vision, et fur m'ent de fort. E
gionon doulce l'ore me fionon du
part de v'olte p'ou d'mon en fionon
de d'v'it et fur en gionon fionon

O se fur fionon de la mort
de ma p'oussant Et si me fionon
ad'm' que la r'etot fionon fionon fionon
Et vit mon m'astot m'and de d'mon d'p'ou
la d'mon est d'mon q'm la m'ondt d'mon
et d'mon d'mon d'mon d'mon q'm la d'mon
fionon d'mon q'm d'mon p'a m'et d'mon
fionon d'mon d'mon

Et d'mon d'mon fionon fionon fionon
in doulce

author's journey. The title is missing in the table of contents and there is no title in the text.

Folio 18. Book II, *La guerre du siecle*, containing (ff. 46–51b) a long passage in eight-line stanzas.

Folio 60. Book III, *Lart de fortune*.

Folio 98. Book IV, *Les faulces coustumes du monde*.

Folio 121. Book V, *Le mirouer de sainte eglise*.

Folio 146. Book VI, *Le mirouer des vivans*.

Folio 184. Book VII, *Le verbe couronne de la vertu de verite*. Book VIII, *Le livre de bonne vie*, is mentioned in the table of contents, but there is no separate

eighth book in the text. The eighth book in verse, which is found in some manuscripts of the romance, is not included here.

The text of *Mandevie* is followed (ff. 228b–231) by a poem in 150 lines of rhyming couplets, on the ages of man, which are here numbered twelve and compared to the months of the year. The ends of the last 19 lines are missing. The poem is written in a fifteenth-century hand, not that of the scribe of *Mandevie*. It begins

Il est vray quen xii saisons
Se change xii foys li homs . . .

No poem with these first lines is recorded in A. Långfors, *Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1917, and the work is possibly unrecorded.

Only about a dozen manuscripts of the *Roman de Mandevie* are thought to survive. Those in Paris are listed by Grober; others elsewhere in France are mentioned by Langlois. No manuscript outside France was known to Langlois and De Ricci's *Census* records none in the U.S.A.; there is none in the Bodleian or in the British Museum *Catalogue of Romances*.

LITERATURE

C. Grober. *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, ii, p. 1023.

C. V. Langlois. *Les Mélancolies de Jehan du Pin*, in *Revue Bleue*, 1908, i, pp. 805ff.

On vellum. 152 ll. Gatherings of 8 leaves (the ninth of 6, the last of 2), with a few catchwords. Double column. 32 lines. 298 × 208 mm.; 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Written in dark brown ink by a single scribe in a regular and elegant lettre bâtarde. Chapter headings in red. French eighteenth-century calf gilt, worn, spine and upper cover slightly defective. A few leaves stained and the upper margins of the first gathering slightly defective; gatherings slightly loose in the binding; otherwise in good condition and with wide margins.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Note of ownership on a flyleaf facing the first page of the text, 'Ce Livre appartient aux sieur Dupré fait a orleans le 4 octobre 1756'. The same owner has written a note dated 1748 (scribbled over and illegible) at the end of the text. (2) Phillipps MS. 4544 (bought from the bookseller Payne).

TEXT

Honoré Bonet's *Arbre de Bataille* is an important early contribution to the literature of international law and the rules of warfare, based, as the author explains in his preface, not only on scripture and the decrees and laws of church and state, but also on natural philosophy. Much of it is derived from the slightly earlier treatise *De Bello* of Giovanni da Legnano. The dominant influence is that of the chivalric code of ethics, but the author is exceptional in showing sympathy for the suffering of the peasants. 'Nowhere,' writes J. Huizinga (*The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 1924, p. 92), 'does the influence of chivalry on the development of the law of warfare appear more clearly than here. . . What is especially remarkable is the spirit of gentleness and humanity in which Bonet solves these problems.' 'L'Arbre des Batailles,' he goes on, 'was, unfortunately, only a theoretical treatise.'

The author (c. 1345–1410) was a doctor of decrees in the university of Avignon and Prior of Salon in Provence, and served both the Papacy and the French crown as lawyer and diplomatist. The *Arbre de Bataille* was dedicated to Charles VI in the early years of his reign (c. 1386) and enjoyed an immediate success; a copy was in the library of the Louvre (Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, III, p. 169) and another belonged to Jean, duc de Berry (now British Museum 20.C.VIII; Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, II, p. 316). Four editions were printed before 1500, the first at Lyons, c. 1480. The only recent edition is *Honoré Bonet, l'Arbre des Batailles*, ed. E. Nys, Brussels 1883 (an uncritical edition based on a single late manuscript in Brussels, Bibl. Royale 9079). For an examination of the work's sources and its importance in the history of international law see G. W. Coopland, *The Tree of Battles and some*

of its sources, in *Revue d'Histoire du Droit*, V, fasc. 2, Haarlem 1923, and A. Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence*, Paris 1941, pp. 254-287.

The work consists of a preface (ff. 1-2) and four parts, of which the last two are the longest and most important: on the tribulations of the church (ff. 2b-20b); on the destruction of the four kingdoms of the ancient world (Babylon, Greece, Carthage and Rome; ff. 20b-41b); on battle in general (ff. 41b-106b); and on battle in particular (i.e. on the law of battle as it affects individuals; ff. 106-152b).

DECORATION

The tree of battle from which the work takes its title is described in pictorial terms in the preface (f. 2):

'... si mest venue vne telle ymaginacion que je faice vng arbre de dueil au commencement de mon livre, auquel premierement au dessus vous poves veoir les regens de sainte eglise en tres fiere tribulacion tant que oncques plus fiere ne fut et bien le sauront ceulx qui en cestui livre estudieront. Apres povez veoir le grant dissension qui est au jourduy es roys et es princes des chreestiens. Apres povez veoir la grande dissencion et tribulacion qui est entre les nobles et les communtez. Et sur cest arbre feray je les quatre parties de mon livre.'

There is a fine large miniature of the tree on f. 2b (though a little rubbed). Fortune with her wheel is at the top. Below are scenes arranged in three registers: the Pope enthroned between cardinals and the Emperor between knights and counsellors; below, two groups of knights attack each other, representing the battles and 'fierce felonies' of the nobles; on the ground (right) two men-at-arms attacking a peasant and his wife, representing the 'tribulations and dissensions' of the common people; (left) two knights engaged in a fight with axes in a wooden enclosure, watched by a king and other knights (an extremely rare scene: there was a reproduction of a historical combat of this sort in the Hastings *Ordinances of Chivalry*, sold in these rooms 20 July 1931, lot 7, now Pierpont Morgan Library M. 775, but apart from the two other examples quoted in the Hastings sale catalogue, we know of no others).

Four other illuminated MSS. of the text are known to us: Leningrad Fr.Q. v.IV.1 (late 14th century); Chantilly lat. 1561; sale in our rooms 4 June 1934, lot 41; and Clumber sale in our rooms, 6 December 1937, lot 936 (late 15th century). The miniature of the tree of battle in these MSS. shows a vague family likeness with the present MS., but differs greatly in detail. The present MS. is the only one to contain the scenes of knights fighting on foot in the lists and attacking peasants.

Folio 2b has a full illuminated border and a large initial (rubbed); there is another initial and partial border on f. 1. The initial letter of each chapter

throughout the manuscript is illuminated and is prolonged into the margin with floral and foliate ornament. Smaller initials and line-endings are illuminated throughout.

[SEE PLATE 21]

28 MARTIN LE FRANC. LE CHAMPION DES DAMES

[FLANDERS (MONS?), THIRD QUARTER OF THE 15TH CENTURY]

On paper. 203 ll. Gatherings mostly of 20 leaves (the first of 15, the fifth of 14, the seventh of 18, the last of 16), with catchwords. Double column. 32 lines. 270 × 200 mm.; 10½ × 7¾ in. Written in brown ink by a single scribe in a sloping lettre bâtarde. Two initials in red with brown penwork on f. 1. Other initials and headings in red. Initial letter of each verse touched in red. Space left for a miniature on f. 4. Some worming at the beginning and end, a few stains and a few margins torn and frayed, but on the whole in good condition. English late eighteenth-century russia gilt, title and three classical urns gilt in the compartments of the spine, yellow edges.

PROVENANCE

- (1) The Chevalier d'Éon (1728–1810), with the note of ownership tooled on the upper cover, *De la bibliothèque de la Chevalière D'Éon* and a manuscript note with the same wording on the flyleaf. His sale, London 5 May 1791, lot 13.
- (2) Charles Yarnold; his sale by J. W. Southgate, 6 June 1825, lot 555 (bought by Harding).
- (3) Phillipps MS. 2363, bought from Thomas Thorpe in the 1820's.

WATERMARKS

Three watermarks are used in this volume; a pair of scales (type of Briquet 2427–31, a type of watermark used in the area of France bordering on Flanders and the Rhineland in the third quarter of the 15th century); a unicorn (type of Briquet 9994, use recorded at Metz, 1467–70); and a bull (type of Briquet 2793, use recorded at Tréguier in 1463).

TEXT

Martin Le Franc, born at Aumâle in Normandy c. 1410, was secretary to Amedeo VIII, the 'Duke-Pope' of Savoy, and became provost of Lausanne and protonotary apostolic when his patron was elevated to the papacy as Felix V (1439–1451). *Le Champion des Dames* was finished in the early months of 1442. The known manuscripts of the poem all carry a dedication to Philip the Good of Burgundy. The poem, in some 24,000 lines of octosyllabic verse, is an answer to the satirical and misogynistic portion of the *Roman de la Rose* and takes the form of a lengthy debate between Franc Vouloir (the 'Champion', a personification of manly and generous virtues) and various 'adversaries', such as Male Bouche, Vilain Penser and Faux Semblant. At the end Franc Vouloir is left master of the field.

The present manuscript begins (f. 1) with a brief dedication to the Duke of Burgundy, in which the author is described as 'Martin le franc Indigne secre-


 Lassault. Dames Lassault
 Lassault dessus la muraille
 Oies est Venus en sursault
 Male bouche en grosse bataille
 Lassault Dames ceste me aille
 A sa defense et tant sefforce
 Que l'ennemie villenaille
 Ne nous ait sembler ou de force


 Dormant ce premier jour de may
 Nous mesloit que le creste
 D'Amour de voit en grant esmay
 Et aucores que a ry tel
 Alay mette tye et creste
 Et moy en bataille archange
 Car ce me sembloit bien l'estee
 Que ceste debout l'enche


 Le pont du jour la on len se
 rassant Robert et estele
 Car lors somer le guet aq
 qui doit l'ennemy desle
 Mais grant mal ne se peut
 tant soit bien mussé ou cou
 car se pour long temps l'ecle
 se peut en l'autre est desrom


 L'autre ne fut pas en dorme
 De faire bon guet luy somer
 Lassault car ne faillit mie
 Sy tost que l'ennemy surunt
 Des autres truetes plus de un
 aussi frant bien leu debout
 et pour certain il ne couunt
 celle muez guet dormant auo

taire de nostre tres Saint pere le pape felix cinquieme'. Then follows (ff. 1-3b) the preface, explaining the scheme and purpose of the poem.

The poem itself begins (f. 4):

A lassault dames a lassault
 A lassault dessus la muraille
 Oies est Venus en sursault
 Male bouche en grosse bataille
 and ends:

Si ques veulliez moy secourir
 Dames et en fais et en dis
 Vueilliez pour Martin requerir
 Le Royaume de paradis.

Martin Le Franc has been called by Gaston Paris one of the three most remarkable French poets of the 15th century (the others being Villon and

Charles d'Orléans) and *Le Champion des Dames*, his longest and best work, is an important authority for the history of the ideas of his time. Manuscripts of it are extremely rare. The dedication manuscript is in the Royal Library, Brussels (MS. 9446), which also owns another MS. of the poem (MS. 9281); two MSS. are in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 12476 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal ms. 3121), and a fifth was in the collection of Sir John Arthur Brooke, sold in our rooms 25 May 1921, lot 629. The present manuscript, judging from the watermarks, appears to have been written either in North-Eastern France, or on the Franco-Flemish border. There is no manuscript of the text in the Bodleian or in the British Museum *Catalogue of Romances* and only a single fragment of about 250 lines is recorded in the U.S.A.

The poem was first printed with handsome woodcuts in Lyons about 1488 (Claudin IV, 404); a copy of this edition was included in the Landau sale in these rooms, 12 July 1948, lot 51.

LITERATURE

Gaston Paris. *Un poème inédit de Martin Le Franc in Romania*, XVI, 1887, p. 383.

[MILAN, C. 1456]

On vellum. 173 ll., plus two vellum fly-leaves. Gatherings mostly of 10 leaves (the last three of eight, eight and seven), with catchwords written at right angles to the last word of each gathering. 20 lines. 212 × 155 mm.; 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 in. Well written in a small early humanistic hand, with contractions and a few cursive forms. Marginal annotations and some textual corrections, including some in Greek, by a humanistic reader. Headings in red capitals on ff. 2. and 7; spaces for other headings left blank. Two wormholes through the first 28 leaves and slight marginal worming of the first 7 and the last 8 leaves. Otherwise in good and fresh condition. Reddish brown morocco gilt, g.e. [by Charles Lewis].

PROVENANCE

(1) The first owner's arms, *silver a bend indented sable*, surmounted by a crest of a winged girl holding a scroll and an open book, are painted at the foot of f. 2, flanked by his initials in gold on panels of blue penwork, SI BA. At the end of the text he has noted the date and time, 11 o'clock on 25 June 1456, when he finished reading the book: 1456. 25 Iunii per Sy bat. hora XI^a.

(2) The Rev. Henry Drury, of Harrow (1778–1841, Dibdin's 'Menalcas'), with his note that the MS. was bound by Charles Lewis on the flyleaf; Drury sale, 20 February 1827, lot 349, bought by Thorpe.

(3) Phillipps MS. 3349.

TEXT

Leonardo Bruni's translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* was composed in 1417 and dedicated to Pope Martin V in 1419. It immediately superseded the 170-year-old translation by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, to which Bruni refers critically in his preface, and played an important part in disseminating the ideas of Aristotle in the early Renaissance. It was the first work of Aristotle to be printed in any language, by Johann Mentelin in Strassburg, in or before 1469 (Hain 1762).

The text here consists of the dedication to Pope Martin V, not named but addressed as *beatissime pater* (f. 1), the preface (f. 2) and the ten books of the *Ethics* (f. 7).

DECORATION

The manuscript is decorated with the coat-of-arms on f. 2 already described, a large initial on the same page and ten other initials (to the dedication and each book except Book III). The initials are in gold on green, red and blue

panels patterned in white and decorated with white foliage. Blue and red sprays ending in gold leaves prolong the initials into the margins.

This illumination is in the well-known style of the Milanese mid-fifteenth-century artist known as the 'Master of the Vitae Imperatorum', much of whose work was done for the Sforza Dukes of Milan. A manuscript of Aristotle's *Politics and Economics*, dated 1451, with illumination by him, was in the Dyson Perrins collection, sold in these rooms 9 December 1958, lot 22.

A later hand has added an initial in blue on f. 9b and a calligraphic initial to Book III.

[SEE PLATE 22]

On fine vellum. 90 ll. Gatherings of 10 leaves, with catchwords written vertically in the right-hand bottom corner of the last leaves. 29 lines. 293×185 mm.; 11½×7⅞ in. Written in dark brown ink by a single scribe in a large upright rounded humanistic hand in which the desire to imitate hands of Carolingian type is clearly evident. Spaces left for the Greek words. Incipit and explicit in red. With wide margins and in very fine condition except for some rubbing of the first and last leaves. Brown morocco, gilt line border and spine, arms of Drury gilt on both covers, g.e.

PROVENANCE

(1) Cardinal Franciscus Condulmarus, whose arms, *azure a bend silver*, are painted in the lower border of f. 1 with a Cardinal's hat. He was the nephew of Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431-1447), was created Cardinal in 1431 and later Bishop of Porto; he was usually known as the Cardinal of Venice. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church and was in command of the Papal Fleet against the Turks during the last siege of Constantinople. He died in 1453, whereas the date 1455 occurs at the end of the Explicit. Perhaps the manuscript was commissioned by the Cardinal of Venice, set aside on his death and completed later.

(2) An early owner has written beneath the end of the text the first line of the *Disticha Catonis*, 'Hoc quicumque cupis carmen cognoscere lector', with a flourished monogram.

(3) The Rev. Henry Drury, of Harrow (cf. lot 29), with his arms on the covers and a note that the volume was bound by Charles Lewis on the flyleaf; Drury sale, 20 February 1827, lot 1207 (bought by Longman for 9 guineas).

(4) No. 267 in Thomas Thorpe's *Catalogue of upwards of fourteen hundred manuscripts upon vellum and paper, collected in this and other countries, forming, it is presumed, the most important and interesting collection ever offered for sale*, 1836.

(5) Phillipps MS. 9797.

TEXT

Of all the works of classical antiquity few were so frequently copied in the 15th century and none perhaps had so great and lasting effect upon the ethical outlook of the educated man as Cicero's *De Officiis*. Drawn largely from Stoic sources, particularly Panaetius, it treats in three books of moral goodness, expediency and the conflict between the right and the expedient. Its importance in the eyes of the 15th century is shown by the fact that it was printed three times in the years 1465 and 1466, at Subiaco, Cologne and Mainz (GKW 6914, 6921 and 6922) and was probably the first work of any classical author

to issue from any press. 'Tully's Offices' was as much a part of the English gentleman's library of the 18th century as the *De Officiis* had been in the Renaissance. The 'beautiful image of virtue' from the first book was quoted by Boswell in Dr. Johnson's presence with the great man's approval (*Life of Johnson*, ed. G. D. Hill, 1887, ii, 443).

DECORATION

On f. 1 is a large initial Q in gold on a panel of white-vineleaf ornament, which is continued along the full height of the inner margin; another panel of white-vineleaf ornament in the lower margin encloses the arms of Cardinal Franciscus Condulmarus which are contained in a gold vesica-shaped shield. The inner margin has unfortunately been damaged by damp. There are large initials in the same style on ff. 41 and 63 and a smaller one on f. 14b. All this illumination is characteristic of Florence, at this time probably the largest centre for the production of handsome humanistic manuscripts for private patrons.

[SEE PLATE 23]

31 CHARLES D'ORLÉANS AND HIS CIRCLE. POEMS IN FRENCH [BLOIS, BETWEEN 1453 AND 1456]

On vellum. 61 ff. (of 63), plus two early vellum flyleaves. Gatherings mostly of 8 leaves (the sixth of 6; lacking the fifth leaf of the second gathering and the last leaf; the first leaf of the last gathering, f. 47, misbound in the preceding gathering). 20 lines to a full page. 212 × 142 mm.; 8½ × 5½ in. Elegantly written in brown ink in a calligraphic slightly sloping lettre bâtarde; the last leaves (f. 47 and f. 49 to the end) in a similar but larger and less elegant hand. Titles of every poem written by the original scribe in gold letters, sometimes elaborately flourished. The first letters of each line in gold on ff. 12b, 25 and 48; the first letters of every other line touched with yellow. A small gold initial on a blue and lake ground to each stanza. Lines and margins neatly ruled in red. A few lower margins stained and the lower margin of the first leaf slightly cut into; but IN FINE CONDITION. Nineteenth-century roan, gilt spine [by Bretherton?].

PROVENANCE

(1) Perhaps compiled (and partly written) by Blosseville for Jean d'Estouteville, seigneur de Torcy (1405-94), who held many offices at court and had been innocently concerned in the tragic death of the Dauphine Margaret of Scotland, in whose company he was surprised late one evening in 1445. Of the three poems in the manuscript which have the first letter of each line in gold, two are by Torcy and the third by Blosseville. The latter chose Torcy as one of the arbiters of his *Débat* and was evidently on terms of close friendship with him. If this theory is correct, it would explain the number of poems in the manuscript by Blosseville and suggests that the second scribe who wrote the last six poems (five of them by Blosseville) may have been Blosseville himself.

(2) Hans Albrecht von Derschau, of Nuremberg, whose collections were sold in Nuremberg in August and September 1825.

(3) Phillipps MS. 1290.

TEXT

The text consists of one long poem, the *Débat du Viel et du Jeune* of Blosseville, and ninety-eight *rondeaux* and other short poems by Charles d'Orléans and the numerous poets, amateur or professional, who lived at or visited his court at Blois and drew their inspiration from him. Five poems are by the Duke himself ('Monseigneur dorleans'), and one by his talented and beautiful wife, Marie de Clèves ('Madame dorleans'). Of the amateur poets the most notable are René of Anjou, King of Naples ('le roy de Sesylle', one poem), his son Jean, Duke of Calabria ('Jehan seigneur de lorayne', one poem), Antoine de Lorraine, Comte de Guise (nine poems), Jehanne Filleul, lady in waiting to the Dauphine, Margaret of Scotland (one poem), Monseigneur de Torcy

(three poems), Monseigneur de Tays (three poems), Gilles des Ormes (one poem), 'le cadet dalebret', son of Charles II of Albret and an Armagnac mother, a young man who spent many years in the service of Charles d'Orléans (three poems) and Tannegui du Chastel, well-known as a collector of manuscripts (see L. Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, ii, 353-4; one poem). The poem on f. 34 headed 'Recepte de la Raine' is found also in the autograph manuscript of Charles d'Orléans's poems in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. fr. 25458), without an attribution; it may perhaps be by Marie, wife of Charles VII of France and sister of René of Anjou, though she does not appear to be known as a poet. Of the professional poets the best known are Martin Le Franc (one poem), Jean Meschinot (two poems), 'Vaillant', an author who had a dual poetic personality, first under his own name of Pierre Chastellain and then, after he had joined the court of Blois, under the pseudonym of Vaillant (thirteen poems); and 'Blosseville' (the *Débat*, of 379 lines, and twenty-six short poems). Blosseville has been variously identified (see Raynaud, p. viii; Champion, p. 611), but the fact that his name appears always *tout court*, without Christian name or honorific of any kind, suggests that it may, like Vaillant, be a poetic pseudonym rather than a surname or seignorial title.

The manuscript can be dated with some probability to the years 1453 to 1456. For it was not until the former year that King René's son Jean was given the title of Duke of Lorraine, and in 1456 the 'cadet d'albret' became 'seigneur de Sainte Bazeille'. A date of c. 1455 is confirmed by the fact that while there are no less than seven poems with the resonant and evocative first line *En la forest de longue attente*, which Duke Charles gave out as a theme to the poets of his court, as well as three poems on the *montaigne de tristesse* and two on the *amoureux de l'observance*, the *rondeaux* on the latest in time and most famous of all the Duke's poetical motifs, *Je meurs du soif auprès de la fontaine*, which have become celebrated as the 'concours de Blois' and can be dated to the year 1458, are not here represented.

Blosseville's *Débat* is a poem of 385 lines in thirty-one stanzas. It was published by Montaiglon from the only manuscript he had seen (Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 1611). The text of the present manuscript (whose existence was known to Montaiglon though he never had access to it) is in many points of detail superior to the Paris MS. It shows signs of having been carefully corrected, a number of words being erased and replaced by others in the same hand. Almost all the passages which Montaiglon alters owing to evident corruption of the text make good sense in the present manuscript, which confirms many of his conjectural readings. The text here begins *Le second iour de ce printemps* and ends in the middle of the last stanza with the words *car je suis nouveau secretaire*. The last leaf of the manuscript, with the last six lines of the poem is missing.

The primary source for the poetry of Charles d'Orléans is the Duke's partly autograph manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. fr. 25458), published in full by Champion. The present manuscript, of early date and intimately connected with the Court of Blois, must rank as a major authority for the poetry of this final flowering of medieval courtly life. The only other manuscripts of comparable importance seem to be:

Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 9223, published by Raynaud.

Berlin, Hamilton MS. 674, a manuscript containing over 600 poems, written between 1463 and 1475 for Louis Malet de Gravelle, Admiral of France; it belonged in the 18th century to Cardinal de Rohan; published by Löppelmann.

Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2230, the poems of Vaillant, published by Winkler.

Most of the poems in the present manuscript occur in at least one of these four manuscripts, but twenty-one do not, and some of these may be unpublished. The text of some of those whose publication has been traced, differs substantially in this MS. from the published version. A few poems have corrections of one or more words in the hand of the original scribe. Eleven of the poems occur otherwise only in the Rohan MS. in Berlin, but for ten of these only the present manuscript gives the author's name.

Though not strictly comparable, since it emanates from Blois and not from Burgundy, the present manuscript is of equal interest and importance with the slightly later manuscript from Helmingham Hall, containing poems by Pierre Michault, Jean Molinet and others, which was sold in these rooms on 6 June 1961, lot 14. The fact that two such manuscripts have appeared in the sale-room within five years does not lessen their rarity.

CONTENTS

In the following list publication is indicated by the words *Champion*, *Raynaud*, *Winkler* and *Löppelmann*, referring to the works in the bibliography below and corresponding to the manuscripts cited above. Where a poem has been published more than once, only a single reference is given.

Folio 2. Madame dorleans. *En la forest de longue attente* (*Champion*).

Folio 2b. Bouciquaut (partially erased). *Asses ne me puis merueiller* (*Champion*).

Folio 3. Monseigneur dorleans. *Se nest pas par ypocrisye* (*Champion*).

Folio 3b. Vaillant. *Ace mur hau estes vous sourde*.

Folio 4. Monseigneur le mareschal de loheac. *Comme moy vous aures vos gaiges* (*Löppelmann*).

Folio 4b. Vaillant. *Esperant dauoir quelque bien* (*Löppelmann*).

Folio 5. Fredet. *Jattens lomosne de douceur* (*Champion*).

Folio 5b. Vaillant. Avant que lon vous sceut louer (Löppelmann).
Folio 6. Jehan monseigneur de lorayne. Qui veult de dame amoy changier (Raynaud).
Folio 6b. Blosseville. Je change a vous se cest votre voulloir (a reply to the preceding poem; Raynaud).
Folio 7. Vaillant. A je vous tiens pourfritatis.
Folio 7b. Le cadet dalebret. Et nesse pas asses tenu.
Folio 8. Fredet. En pensant a vostre bonte (Raynaud).
Folio 8b. Fredet. A quoy tient que le cuer me volle (Löppelmann).
Folio 9. Anthoine de guise. Tellement suis de vous espris (Löppelmann).
Folio 9b. Regne dorenge. Mort tres cruelle et maudite (Raynaud).
Folio 10. Monseigneur de tays. Je men vois faire ma demeure (Löppelmann).
Folio 10b. Monseigneur dorleans. Des amoureux de lobservance (Champion).
Folio 11. Vaillant. Des amoureux de lobservance (Champion).
Folio 11b. Monseigneur de tays. Mys en exil en la forest de deuil.
Folio 12. Monseigneur de tays. Desplaisir chacun jour massault (Raynaud).
Folio 12b. Monseigneur de torcy. Naige pas este bien party (Raynaud).
Folio 13. Monseigneur de coram. Adieu mon cuer serves la belle.
Folio 13b. Vaillant. Je le voy bien selon les vers (Winkler).
Folio 14. Jeucourt. En la montaigne de tristesse (Raynaud).
Folio 14b. Jeucourt. En la forest de longue attente (Raynaud).
Folio 15. Robinet le senescal. De ma joye nest plus nouvelle (Raynaud).
Folio 15b. Robinet le senescal. En la montaigne de tristesse.
Folio 16. Vaillant. Gardes vous ent de leuil dartuse (Löppelmann).
Folio 16b. Blosseville. Se jusse seu ce que je say.
Folio 17. Monbeton. Jay des samblans tant que je veuil (Raynaud).
Folio 17b. Blosseville. Pour contrefaire lamoureux (Raynaud).
Folio 18. Blosseville. En la forest de longue atente (Raynaud).
Folio 18b. Monseigneur dorleans. Sot euil rapporteur de nouvelles (Champion).
Folio 19. Vaillant. Sot euil trop estes vollontaire (Winkler).
Folio 19b. Blosseville. Sot euil say ton fait par compas (Raynuad).
Folio 20. Blosseville. A cuer quas tu qui me reprens (Raynaud).
Folio 20b. Anthoine de guise. A mon deuil (Raynaud).
Folio 21. Vaillant. Bonnes gens jay perdu madame (Winkler).
Folio 21b. Blosseville. Celle pour qui je porte lame (Raynaud).
Folio 22. Blosseville. Pour le bon loz que lon vous donne (Raynaud).
Folio 22b. Gylle des ourmes. En la forest de longue atente (Champion).
Folio 23. Blosseville. En la montaigne de tristesse (Raynaud).
Folio 23b. Robert tait (i.e. Jean Robertet). En attendant guerison ou la mort (Raynaud).

- Folio 24. Blosseville. *Sen a ours a vng paradis* (Raynaud).
- Folio 24b. Taneguy du chatel. *Au grant deuil quen mon cuer je porte* (Raynaud).
- Folio 25. Blosseville. *A yeux aveugles par force de desir* (Raynaud).
- Folio 25b. Blosseville. *Mon cuer mest ycy venir dire*.
- Folio 26. Blosseville. *Le cuer tourble le sens perdu* (Raynaud).
- Folio 26b. Tangui du chastel. *Belle dont nul ne scet le pris* (Raynaud).
- Folio 27. Anthoine de guise. *Trop plus qua milliers et a cens* (Raynaud).
- Folio 27b. Meschynot. *De tous playsirs je suis au bas* (Raynaud).
- Folio 28. Blosseville. *Puis que vnne foyz sont joins ensamble* (Raynaud).
- Folio 28b. Vaillant. *Mamour ellas veullies amer* (Winkler).
- Folio 29. Blosseville. *Grant tort aves par nostre dame* (Raynaud).
- Folio 29b. Blosseville. *Celuy qui si fort vous reprent*.
- Folio 30. Maistre martin le franc. *Le jour mest nuyt* (Raynaud).
- Folio 30b. Monbeton. *Quelque chose quamours ordonne* (Raynaud).
- Folio 31. Anthoine de guise. *Les doulleurs dont me sens tel somme* (Raynaud).
- Folio 31b. Fredet. *En la forest de longue attente* (Champion).
- Folio 32. Monseigneur dorleans. *En la forest de longue attente* (Champion).
- Folio 32b. Monseigneur dorleans. *En la forest de longue attente* (Champion).
- Folio 33. Monseigneur de tays. *Au port ou jamais nul ne passe*.
- Folio 33b. Fredet. *Quelque magniere que je face* (Raynaud).
- Folio 34. Recepte de la Raine. *Pour tous vos maulx damours guerir* (Champion).
- Folio 34b. Fredet. *Maintenant comme je pensoye* (Löppelmann).
- Folio 35. Le cadet dalebret. *Mon bien mamour et ma maistresse*.
- Folio 35b. Anthoinne de guise. *Tu te brules a la chandelle* (Raynaud).
- Folio 36. Monbeton. *En lestat ou vous me voyes* (Raynaud).
- Folio 36b. Anthoinne de guise. *Mon oeil lamente*.
- Folio 37. Anthoinne de guise. *Bien souvent quant je vous regarde*.
- Folio 37b. Tanegui du chatel. *Quesse que joy hau paix esse mon cuer*.
- Folio 38. Jehanne filleul. *Helas mon amy sur mon ame* (Raynaud).
- Folio 38b. Le Roy de sesylle. *Requiescant las in pace* (Löppelmann).
- Folio 39. Denesson a Ja (i.e. Jammette de Nesson). *Cest pour me receller les biens* (Raynaud).
- Folio 39b. Taneguy du chatel. *Puis quen moy cuidez tant de biens* (Raynaud).
- Folio 40. Vaillant. *Vostre grief mal sy est le mien* (Winkler).
- Folio 40b. Le cadet dalebret. *Amours je vous requier justice*.
- Folio 41. Monbeton. *Lune bonte lautre requiert*.
- Folio 41b. Blosseville. *Je nen veulz plus porter la charge* (Raynaud).
- Folio 42. Vaillant. *U lac de larmes tresparfont* (Raynaud).
- Folio 42b. Blosseville. *Plus conquemays je suis au bas* (Raynaud).
- Folio 43. Meschynot. *Quel adieu las qui latendra* (Löppelmann).

- Folio 43b. Blosseville. *Doutant de tous poins lescondire.*
 Folio 44. Anthoinne de guise. *Se vous ales faire demeure* (Raynaud).
 Folio 44b. Blosseville. *Lasse damours et des fais de fortune* (Raynaud).
 Folio 45. Anthoinne de guise. *A mort ellas.*
 Folio 45b. Vaillant. *Jay veu le debat de vos yeux* (Winkler).
 Folio 46. Blosseville. *Jen ay le deuil et vous la joye* (Raynaud).
 Folio 46b. Monbeton. *Qui est plus cause de mon deuil* (Raynaud).
 Folio 47 is misbound and should follow f. 55.
 Folio 48. Monseigneur de torcy. *Gardant vostre bien et honneur.*
 Folio 48b. Monseigneur de torcy. *En regardant vostre maintien* (Löppelmann).
 Folio 49. Blosseville. *Cest grant paine que de vivre* (Raynaud).
 Folio 49. Blosseville. *Je vous fere de mon corps don* (Raynaud).
 Folios 49b–50. Blosseville. *Vous verres toutes les rivierez.*
 Folios 50–50b. Monbeton. *Leure le iour le moys lannee.*
 Folio 51. Blosseville. *Pour le celler mon dolant deuil* (Raynaud).
 Folios 51b–52. Blosseville. *Vous qui parles de la beaulte deslaine.*
 Folios 52b–61b. Blosseville. *Le debat du viel et du josne* (Montaiglon).

LITERATURE

- A. de Montaiglon. *Recueil de poésies françaises*, ix, 1865, pp. 221–237.
 G. Raynaud. *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle*, Société des anciens textes français, 1889.
 P. Champion. *Charles d'Orléans. Poésies*, 1923.
 Emil Winkler. *Vaillant*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist.Klasse*, Bd. 186, 1921.
 M. Löppelmann. *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, Göttingen, 1923.

[SEE PLATE 24]

32 GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO. VITA DI DANTE; AND OTHER WORKS
[FLORENCE (?), THIRD QUARTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY]

On paper. 102 ll. (including three original blank leaves), plus two fifteenth-century paper fly-leaves. Gatherings mostly of 10 leaves (the last but one of 12), with catchwords written vertically in the right-hand bottom corner of the last page of every gathering. Double column. 29 to 33 lines. 288 × 212 mm.; 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Handsomely written in brown ink in a neat and regular semi-cursive early humanistic hand. Headings in the last three texts in red. Spaces for initials left blank. A single wormhole through the last 14 leaves; some stains, but with wide margins and in very good condition.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Scipione Marchetti, of Sinigaglia in the Marche, with note of ownership on the flyleaf (17th century).
- (2) Richard Heber (1773–1833), bought from Thorpe in March 1821, with a note to that effect inside the upper cover; Heber sale, Evans, 10 February 1836, lot 1130.
- (3) Phillipps MS. 8451.

WATERMARK

A cardinal's hat, type of Briquet 3373 (use recorded in Florence and elsewhere, c. 1475). The endpapers have a watermark of a pair of scissors, type of Zonghi 634–638 (Fabriano, 1457–64).

TEXT

Folio 1. A chronicle of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, from the year 1260 until his death in 1285, and of events in Sicily for a few years thereafter, beginning *Regnando nel reame di napoli manfredi*.

Folio 39. A brief chronicle of the Emperors from c. 900 to c. 1325, beginning *[L]o imperio di roma duro alla signoria de francesi circa di C° anni*.

Folio 45b. An account of the Assyrian empire and of the division of the world into separate countries, with their boundaries, beginning *Noi troviamo per le storie della bibbia*.

Folio 47b. An account of Popes Innocent III, Honorius III, Nicholas III and Martin IV, ending in the year 1285. *Folio 50* is blank.

Folio 51. Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*. *Inchomincia la vita & chostumi & studii del chiarissimo Poeta Dante Aldighieri fiorentino chompilata per messer Giovanni Boccaccio*. Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*, the long or 'vulgate' version, which is probably the earliest of the three versions known and is believed to have been composed c. 1360 (see N. Sapegno, *Il Trecento*, Milan, 1934, p. 389). The text belongs to Macri-Leone's family B and agrees closely with that of the fifteenth-century manuscript in the Laurenziana which he names Lc.

Boccaccio's life of his friend and revered master Dante was the first biography to be written of the great poet. It is more properly described by the alternative title by which it is sometimes known, *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, but as well as being a tribute from one poet and humanist to another it contains valuable biographical information. In spite of the work's great popularity it was not printed until 1544.

*Finita e' questa operetta
chompota da messer Giovanni
Bochaccio sopra alla vita
& chostumi del chiarissimo
poeta Dante Aldighieri
fiorentino. ~ . ~ . ÷*

Folio 89. Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Life of Dante. *Inchomincia la Vita & chostumi & studii del chiarissimo poeta dante aldighieri fiorentino chompilata per messer Lionardo aretino.*

Folio 97. Leonardo Bruni's Life of Petrarch. *Inchomincia la Vita chostumi & studii del chiarissimo Poeta messer franco petrarcha fiorentino compilata per messer lionardo darezo.* These two brief lives were probably written in the year 1436. A critical text was published by H. Baron. The text of the present manuscript agrees with that of the Cinelli edition (Perugia, 1671) rather than with that of Redi (Florence, 1672). The lives have long been recognised as models of their kind, both for method and for style. 'It was in the lives of Dante and Petrarch written by Leonardo Bruni', says V. Rossi (*Il Quattrocento*, Milan, 1933, p. 192) 'that biography in the vernacular reached literary perfection.'

BINDING

Contemporary Italian dark red goatskin over wooden boards, tooled in blind; panelled sides, outer and inner borders formed of repeated impressions of formal tools, fleurons repeated round an approximately circular centre ornament; rebacked; five metal bosses from each cover and two clasps and catches lacking.

EXHIBITED

National Book League. *In praise of italic*, 1954, no. 12.

LITERATURE

Macri-Leone. *La vita di Dante . . . testo critico*, Rome, 1888.

H. Baron. *Leonardo Bruno Aretino*, Leipzig, 1928.

On paper. 166 ll. (the existing foliation is faulty). Gatherings of 8 leaves, with some catchwords and signatures; lacks one leaf after f. 138. Double column. 44 lines. 385 × 285 mm.; 15½ × 10¾ in. Written in brown ink in a handsome lettre bâtarde. Chapter headings, initials and paragraph marks in red. Elaborate calligraphic letters in red in the chapter headings on ff. 7b, 68, 81b, 140b, 150 and 152. The margins of the last 30 leaves somewhat stained; tears in the margins of ff. 44, 65, 71, 111 and 265; a few leaves slightly wormed and a very few other small holes; but in sound condition. Early green velvet over wooden boards, worn, rebacked.

PROVENANCE

- (1) The first owner's arms are painted in the lower border of f. 1. They are of seven quarters, the first, *checky gold and azure with a border gules*, being the arms of the distinguished family of Dreux, Counts of Dreux.
- (2) Jean Baptiste Denis Guyon de Sardière, with his signature at the foot of f. 1; his sale, Paris 1759, lot 2188.
- (3) Lord Stuart de Rothesay (British Ambassador in Paris 1815–30), with his arms in blind on the upper cover; his sale in our rooms 2 June 1855, lot 896.
- (4) Phillips MS. 17700.

WATERMARKS

An anchor, type of Briquet 385 (use recorded at St. Denis, 1465) and three fleurs-de-lis, type of Briquet 1741 (France and the Netherlands, 1468–78).

TEXT

Jean de Wavrin (c. 1394–c. 1474) was a soldier and diplomat in the service of the Dukes of Burgundy, and is well known as the owner of a group of secular paper manuscripts illustrated in a lively popular style. The present manuscript comprises vol. 2 of his massive six-volume chronicle of English history, covering the years 1337 to 1377.

Manuscripts of the Chronicle are very scarce. The Bibliothèque Nationale owns the only complete six-volume set (mss. fr. 6748–6759), as well as two other copies of the second volume (ms. fr. 6747 and 6761). The British Museum possesses only the first (Royal MS. 15.E.IV) and the third volume (Royal MS. 14.E.IV), both executed in Bruges c. 1470 for Edward IV. A finely illuminated copy of vol. 4 is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, from a set of which vols. 2, 3 and 5 are in the Royal Library, The Hague.

The text of the second volume has never been printed, but the chapter headings (agreeing closely with those in the present manuscript) are given in full in

Anchiennes Croniques d'Engleterre par Jean Wavrin, Société de l'histoire de France, 1858, i, 87-118.

DECORATION

The manuscript is illustrated with two large miniatures (ff. 1 and 61) and four small ones of single column width, one at the beginning of each Book. They are *en grisaille*, with some striking use of red, pink and green, as is also the full illuminated border to f. 1.

Folio 1. The coronation of Edward III.

Folio 61. The banquet given at Windsor by Edward III to celebrate the institution of the Order of the Garter.

Folio 111. The siege of Calais.

Folio 158b. An army halted.

Folio 196. A battle in Spain between cavalry and infantry.

Folio 255. The death of Queen Philippa of England.

The style of these miniatures derives from Loyset Liédet, and they are perhaps the work of an artist trained in his workshop at Bruges, where he seems to have been established before 1469.

[SEE PLATES 25 AND 26]

[FLORENCE, C. 1460]

On fine vellum. 252 ll. (the last blank). Gatherings of 10 leaves, the last of 12. 32 lines. 278 × 193 mm.; 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Finely written in dark ink by a single scribe in a small and regular slightly slanting humanistic hand, with a few cursive characteristics. Headings to the Preface (f. 1) and the History (f. 2b) in red capitals. Apart from a few natural flaws in the margins of some leaves (most of them very neatly repaired) and very slight worming in the first and last few leaves, in very fresh and fine condition and with wide margins. Eighteenth-century Italian brown half morocco, gilt spine, marbled boards, g.e.

PROVENANCE

(1) The Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence; no. 333 in the eighteenth-century catalogue of the MSS. of San Marco now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (S. Marco 945); the number 333 is also tooled on the spine which is characteristic of the bindings executed for the convent in the 18th century. San Marco was the most important religious house in Florence in the 15th century and was under the special protection of the Medici family. Both Fra Angelico and Savonarola were inmates.

(2) Phillipps MS. 6567, bought in 1833 from the bookseller Payne.

TEXT

Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406–1457) was one of the first humanists who ventured to exercise his scholarship and critical acumen in attacks on the accepted doctrines and traditions of the church. After being prosecuted before a tribunal of the Inquisition for heresy he was made an apostolic secretary by the humanist Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–1455), and it was at the suggestion of this patron that he undertook his translations of the histories of Thucydides (1448–1452) and Herodotus (1452–1457). These were the first translations of the two great Greek historians into Latin and the only versions in any language in which their works were printed in the 15th century. The present manuscript probably dates from within ten years of Valla's completion of his translation. In it the text is preceded by the dedication to Pope Nicholas V (ff. 1–2b).

DECORATION

The first page has a historiated initial Q containing a half-length figure of the author, wearing armour and resting his hands on the hilt of a two-handed sword, against a blue ground patterned in white, and a threequarter border of white-vineleaf ornament. In the lower border two putti flank a quadrilobe compartment containing a shield left blank to receive a coat-of-arms.

There are seven other large initials in gold with white-vineleaf ornament on blue, red and green grounds, one to each book except Book IV which has been left blank (ff. 2*b*, 40*b*, 70, 134, 159, 191*b* and 219), and one smaller initial in gold on a pink and blue ground (f. 8*b*).

[SEE PLATE 27]

On vellum. 12 ll. (including two flyleaves; 15 pp. of text). 16 lines. 153 × 100 mm.; 6 × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Written in a good humanistic hand. Corrections in another hand (the author's?) on ff. 3, 4b, 6, 6b, 7, 9 and 10. Headings and chapter numbers (the latter cut into) in red. Initials in red or blue. French citron morocco gilt, g.e., by Simier, signed at the foot of the spine.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Probably the presentation copy sent by the author to the Signoria of Bologna.
- (2) Auguste Chardin (c.f. lots 5 and 15); *Catalogue de livres précieux, manuscrits et imprimés*, 1811, no. 219.
- (3) Chardin sale, Paris, 9 February 1824, lot 2448.
- (4) Phillipps MS 864.

TEXT

The text of this enthusiastic description of the ancient magistratures and assemblies of Bologna appears to be unpublished and unknown apart from this manuscript. It is addressed to the *sexdecem viri*, the Council of Sixteen or Signoria of Bologna. In his prefatory letter, the author, who was Bishop of Osimo and died in 1474, describes the impression made on him by the constitution of Bologna when he was living there as 'protonotary of Volterra' in attendance upon Cardinal Bessarion (who was Papal Legate there from 1450 to 1455 'to restore peace after turbid revolution'). The prefatory letter is dated from Tivoli, 29 November 1471, and this elegant copy was probably made either in Tivoli or Rome immediately afterwards.

DECORATION

On f. 2b is a handsome achievement of the arms of Bologna within a laurel wreath; the author's arms are painted in similar style on f. 11. There is a fine large white-vineleaf initial on f. 4 and a smaller illuminated initial on f. 3.

[SEE PLATE 28]

On paper (no watermark). 58 pp. Irregular gatherings, with catchwords, apparently complete. 32 to 36 lines. 288 × 198 mm.; 11¼ × 7¾ in. Written in brown ink in three different cursive hands of the same date and type, with many contractions (the second and third hands begin on f. 52 and f. 57b). Initials, headings and many points of the compass and place-names in the text in red. Some leaves stained and a few notes in the outer margins cut into, but in sound and legible condition. English early nineteenth-century Russia, decorated in gilt and blind, gilt spine.

PROVENANCE

(1) The Abbé Luigi Celotti (c. 1768–c. 1846), who bought books on a large scale in Italy in the first quarter of the 19th century for resale in England; his sale in our rooms 14 March 1825, lot 244. The sale included manuscripts which Celotti had purchased from the collections of Giacomo Nani, Giovanni Salvati and Scipione Maffei as well as from monastic libraries.

(2) Phillipps MS. 966, purchased at the sale.

TEXT

Folio 1. *Qua si chomenza lo portolano de venicxia fina in mar mahor* ('the greater sea', i.e. the Mediterranean). Directions and distances for the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean, starting from Venice.

Folio 5. *Incipit Compassus totius starea sicut iacet starea Marine qualiter su[n]t miliara, incipiendo a lixbona . . . usque ad safra*. A description of the coast and harbours of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (with a few islands in the Aegean and elsewhere), beginning at Lisbon, proceeding south to Gibraltar, then round the whole of the northern shore of the Mediterranean, into the Black Sea, round the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean and down the west coast of Morocco as far as Sachula beyond Mogador. The last three places named are Safi (probably the *Safra* of the title), Mogador and Sachula.

Folio 46. The second item is followed by a colophon which goes on to give the title of the next part of the manuscript: *Qua chonple tute le starea del mar meditarano a li pielegi a laud dio e de la virzene maria nostra dona. mo tornemo a li pielegi de . . . in li lluogi che se vada quanti mia senbre de la volzemo tute le grande ixole abitade*. Descriptions of the principal islands of the Western Mediterranean (the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily).

Folio 57b. [Q]esto sie vno portollan trato del con paxo del cholfo di venexia . . . Directions and distances for the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean (a different and briefer version of the material in the first item).

This is a portolano in the original sense of the term, i.e. not a collection of charts but a navigator's guide giving distances and directions between harbours and brief descriptions of harbours and coasts. Manuscript portulans, which were no doubt produced for practical use at sea, are now extremely rare. Only ten of a date earlier than 1500 and three of the 16th century are recorded by Kretschmer, all in Italian public libraries. None is recorded in the U.S.A. The first printed portulan (Venice, 1490; HCR 13302), attributed to Luigi Cadamosto, is also a very rare book (the Landau copy was sold in our rooms on 13 July 1948, lot 95, and is now at Harvard).

The second item in the present manuscript appears to correspond fairly closely with Vatican Cod. lat. chart. 5300. The other items differ both from the manuscripts and the printed editions listed by Kretschmer. The dialect used in the text is Venetian. As is usual, there is a large admixture of Latin words. The points of the compass are referred to as follows: *tramontana* (N), *griego* (NE), *levante* (E), *siroco* (SW), *ostro* (S), *garbin* (SW), *ponente* (W) and *maistro* (NW).

LITERATURE

Konrad Kretschmer. *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 1909.

On paper. 204 ll. (including 14 original blank leaves, two in the text and the others at the beginning and end), plus two old vellum flyleaves. Gatherings of 10 ll. 25 lines. 233×158 mm.; $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. Written in black ink by a single scribe in a neat and regular cursive hand. Initials, headings and marginal annotations in red. Ornamental strapwork headpiece in brown on f. 5, and a few small headpieces elsewhere.

PROVENANCE

(1) Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford, with his bookplate; Guilford sale, Evans, 8 December 1830, lot 182, bought by Payne.

(2) Phillipps MS 6438.

WATERMARK

An eagle, type of Briquet 82-92 ('de provenance italienne, probablement toscane', c. 1475-early 16th century).

TEXT

The *Onomasticon*, a valuable lexicographical work arranged on the plan of Roget's *Thesaurus*, was dedicated by its compiler, Julius Pollux (an Athenian professor), to the future Emperor Commodus between the years 166 and 176 A.D. The present manuscript was evidently copied from an imperfect text and has a number of lacunae, some of considerable length. Blank pages have been left in the manuscript where the three longest of these occur (ff. 24b, 81b and 103). The books are not numbered and four only out of the total of ten prefatory letters to Commodus are included (before Books IV, V, IX and X).

BINDING

Contemporary red morocco over thick grooved wooden boards, with 'Greek' headbands; panelled with triple lines in blind; decorated in blind with an outer strapwork border, an inner foliate border and two areas filled with an X-tool in the centre; a small leaf impressed in gilt at the four inner corners and on either side of the cameo in the centre; a large flower tool gilt above and below the cameo. The cameo itself is of a young girl in profile to the right; it measures 36×31 mm. and appears to be unrecorded. A large leaf tool is impressed in silver at the outer corners of the covers. Two metal cornerpieces (of four) on the upper cover, three on the lower; two clasps and catches lacking; red edges; both covers wormed and damaged, spine defective and roughly repaired.

This fine binding, with its unrecorded cameo, is Florentine, one of the earliest surviving gold-tooled bindings made there. 'The same large flower-tool may be seen on the binding of a *Breviary* illuminated in Florence for Matthias Corvinus but apparently never delivered owing to his death in 1490 . . . the same tool is used also on the binding of a *Ptolemy* (Rome, 1478) in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena.

'From its connection with Matthias Corvinus's *Breviary*, a date of about 1490 may be suggested for the binding of the *Onomasticon*. Only six other Florentine cameo-bindings of the fifteenth century are noted by De Marinis, who divides them into three groups: the three identical bindings on vellum copies of the *Planudean Anthology* (Florence, 1494) [one of which was sold in the Landau sale in our rooms, 12 July 1948, lot 7]; an eleventh-century manuscript of *Justinian* and the presentation copy to the Senate of Ragusa of Giorgio Salviati's *De natura coelestium spirituum* (Florence, 1499), each with a cameo-portrait of a philosopher; and a *Euripides* (Florence, 1496). All these seven bindings, on which five cameos are used, appear to date from the decade 1490 to 1500.' (Hobson.)

LITERATURE

A. R. A. Hobson. *Two Italian Renaissance Bookbindings in the Phillipps Collection*, in *Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 1964, III, pp. 2-4, pl. I (with incorrect caption).

[SEE PLATE 29]

38 HOURS OF THE VIRGIN [USE OF ROUEN], WITH CALENDAR [FRANCE (ROUEN), BEGINNING OF THE 16TH CENTURY]

On vellum. 143 ll., plus two vellum fly-leaves. 19 lines. 128 × 88 mm.; 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Written in brown ink in a lettre bâtarde. Calendar in gold, red and blue. Headings in red (a few in French). The text of every page enclosed in a rectangular frame of gold, red and blue. A small initial to every verse in gold on a red or blue panel. Larger initials in colours on gold grounds. Line-endings illuminated throughout. French early nineteenth-century russia, the sides blocked in blind, gilt line border, gilt spine, g.e.

PROVENANCE

(1) The commemoration of St. Romanus in gold and SS. Mello and Medard in blue in the calendar, and their invocation with St. Gildard in the litany confirms the Rouen origin of the manuscript. The first owner is portrayed on f. 33*b* in prayer to the Virgin below a green canopy *semé* with silver roses. These arms, which also appear in the first and third quarters of the coat painted on five pages (ff. 13*b*, 33*b*, 43*b*, 80*b*, and 95*b*) are those of the du Hamel family of Normandy, to which the owner no doubt belonged. They belonged to the *noblesse de robe* and produced many eminent lawyers in the following century. (2) Phillipps MS. 3977 (bought from the Cheltenham bookseller George Arthur Williams).

DECORATION

The decoration consists of twenty-one full-page miniatures, two small historiated initials of the Virgin and Child (f. 27*b* and f. 30), and fourteen full illuminated borders. The large miniatures are enclosed within gold frames of Renaissance architecture, sometimes against a blue background, decorated with putti playing, blowing trumpets or carrying torches. The subjects are:

Folio 13*b*. An achievement of the arms of du Hamel, the shield supported by two female figures wearing red and blue skirts over golden armour.

Folio 14. (The Gospel passages). Divided by pillars into four compartments, each containing one of the Evangelists writing his Gospel.

Folio 19. (The Passion according to St. John.) The Betrayal of Christ; a crowded scene with Christ, Judas, St. Peter and Malchus in the foreground.

Folio 33*b*. The owner of the book, in a red robe trimmed with brown fur, kneels in prayer before a book open upon a table below a canopy woven with his arms.

Folio 34. (Hours of the Virgin.) The Annunciation.

Folio 43b (Lauds.) Zacharias embraces Elisabeth, with a city gate and wall in the background.

Folio 44. (Lauds.) The Visitation, beside the river Seine.

Folio 53b. (Hours of the Cross.) Two angels support a chalice containing the blood of Christ (8 lines of text below).

Folio 54. (Hours of the Cross.) The Crucifixion: a mounted soldier pierces Christ's side; the Magdalen embraces the foot of the Cross; on the left stands the Virgin with other holy women.

Folio 56. (Hours of the Holy Ghost.) Pentecost: the Virgin seated on a golden throne, surrounded by the apostles.

Folio 58. (Prime.) The Nativity: Joseph and the Virgin kneel in adoration of the Child; in the background two kneeling beasts and three shepherds.

Folio 64. (Tierce.) The Annunciation to the shepherds, one of whom plays the bagpipes; a castle in the background.

Folio 67b. (Sext.) The Adoration of the Magi.

Folio 70. (None.) The Presentation in the Temple, Joseph carrying a candle and the young pigeons in a basket.

Folio 73b. (Vespers.) The Flight into Egypt (in a French landscape).

Folio 76b. (Compline.) The Coronation of the Virgin; choirs of red and blue angels.

Folio 80b. (Penitential Psalms.) David sending Uriah away.

Folio 81. (Penitential Psalms.) David from his window watches Bathsheba bathing; a maidservant stands beside her.

Folios 95b-96. (Office of the Dead.) The Three Living and the Three Dead.

Folio 140b (followed by a prayer to be said before the image of Christ). The Creation.

The fourteen illuminated borders, which follow pages with large miniatures, have gold, blue, black or green grounds, decorated with putti, mermaids, fantastic animals, flowers, leaves and (on f. 81b, in the lower margin) a charming hunting scene.

[SEE PLATE 30]

39 ALBUM AMICORUM OF FREDERICK I, DUKE OF WÜRTTEMBERG

[1569–1603]

On paper. The volume used as an album is an interleaved copy of Alciati's *Emblemata* (Lyon, Guillaume Rouille, 1566; wanting C4, D2, H5, K2, L5). 466 pp., of which 222 are part of the printed book and many are blank. 180 × 115 mm.; 7 × 4½ in. Contemporary red velvet, spine worn, two ties lacking, edges gilt and gauffered.

PROVENANCE

- (1) Given to Frederick of Württemberg in November 1567 by Nicolaus Camerinus, pastor of Reichstadt, in *signum memoriamque grati animi* (inscription on p. 2).
- (2) No. 9 in Thomas Thorpe's *Catalogue of upwards of fourteen hundred manuscripts upon vellum and paper, collected in this and other countries, forming, it is presumed, the most important and interesting collection ever offered for sale*, 1836.
- (3) Phillipps MS. 9548.

CONTENTS

Frederick, when the book was given to him, was a boy of ten and was known as the Count of Württemberg and Mömpelgard (Montbéliard, near Belfort, which had passed by marriage to the house of Württemberg in the 14th century). His cousin, the reigning Duke Ludwig of Württemberg, made him independent ruler of Montbéliard in 1581 and he enjoyed this dignity until he succeeded to the throne of Württemberg in 1593. He died in 1608.

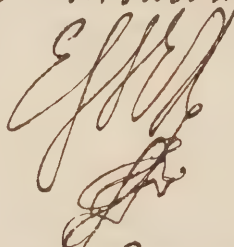
His visit to Queen Elizabeth in England, commemorated by several signatures in the Album, was made in 1592. He arrived in London on 10 August and immediately set off in the company of the French Ambassador to Reading, where the Queen was in residence. On his arrival there on 17 August Essex visited him at his lodging, welcomed him in the Queen's name and invited him to take dinner in his apartment. The Count was conveyed there in a coach and 'feasted most sumptuously', with 'sweet and enchanting music' which highly astonished him. On the same and the following day the Queen granted him two audiences, at which she conversed with him in French and herself played 'very sweetly and cunningly on one of her instruments, the strings of which were of gold and silver'. Before his departure from England on 4 September this active sightseer found time to visit both universities, Windsor, Hampton Court and the Tower of London.

Frederick seems to have caused some stir in England. Shakespeare was referring to him in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* when he wrote of 'a duke of Jamany' (folio text) or 'cosen garmombles' (i.e. Mömpelgard: quarto text),

who had a habit of commandeering horses at the state's expense, and of 'three cozen-germans that has cozen'd all the hosts of Readins'. An account of the journey was published by the Duke's secretary (Jakob Rathgeb, *Kurtze und Warhafft Beschreibung der Badenfahrt*, Tübingen, 1602; English translation given by Rye).

The Album contains about 105 entries, mostly mottoes and verses in Latin, German or French, with the signature, monogram or initials of the writers. There are four coloured coats-of-arms. Most of the entries are by German princes, but there are several aristocratic French Protestant refugees and one interesting entry of non-princely rank, that of the Dutch doctor, naturalist and collector, Berend ten Broecke (p. 451). The signature of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, commemorates a visit to Italy in 1599.

Basis virtutum Constantia.



*Ce mot qui accompagne mes
armoiries aduenera tousiours
la constance de ma profession
a aimer et honorer la
reyn du Conte de Montz
belliard.*

*En Angleterre a
Ledin le 18^{eme} d'August
1592.*

The entries written at Reading are by Essex (p. 427), Lord Norris, in attendance on the Queen as Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire (p. 439), Sir Edward Stafford (English Ambassador in France 1583-90; p. 443) and Robert Carey

(later Earl of Monmouth; carried the news of Queen Elizabeth's death to James VI against the orders of the Council; p. 443). Other English entries are by Lord Spencer, reputed to be the richest man in England and a prominent subscriber to the Virginia Company (p. 49, written on his mission to present Frederick with the Garter) and Sir William Stuart (a 'gentleman adventurer', employed by James VI on diplomatic missions including one to Germany in 1590; p. 329, with his arms).

LITERATURE

W. B. Rye. *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the First*, 1865.

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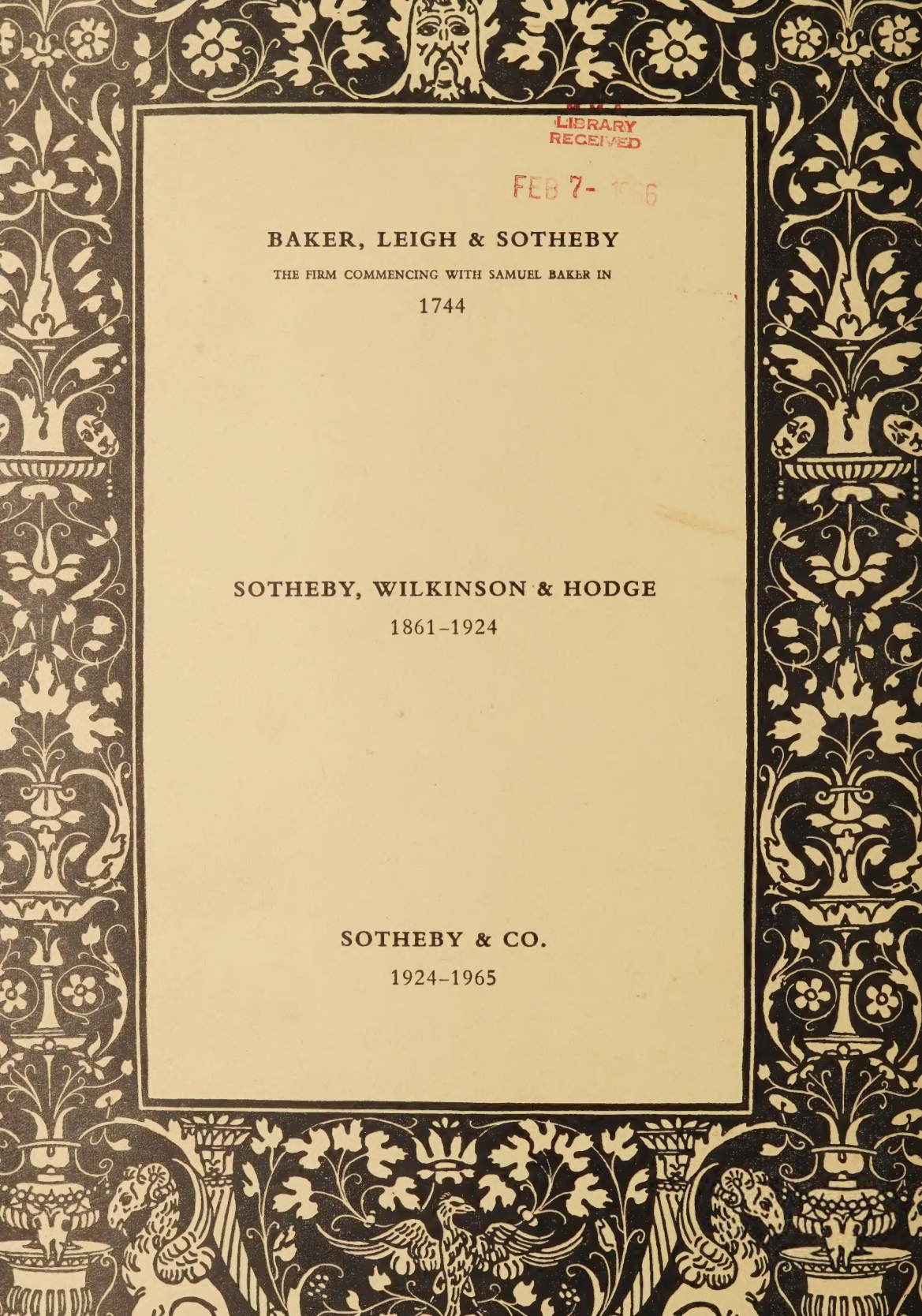
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